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The

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THE STATISTICAL SOURCES OF FRANKISH HISTORY

THE word "statistics" was invented by Gottfried Achenwall, a professor in Göttingen University in 1746. Long before the rise of the state system of modern Europe and the cameralists, however, the value of classified economic information was keenly appreciated by governments. The great Oriental monarchies of antiquity, the Greeks, and the Romans knew the importance of statistics, even if they knew not the word. While few actual records of this kind have come down to us, not a little positive information of the nature of these statistical documents has been preserved. And the volume and variety of such records increases in proportion as the past becomes less remote. We have more statistical evidence concerning the Romans than concerning the Greeks; more concerning the Middle Ages than concerning antiquity; more concerning the period of the Renaissance than concerning the medieval epoch. But for any period before 1300 we shall never know much about number or density of population or the extent of the revenues of any government because these precious records have so largely perished.[1] Yet it will not do for the modern historian, or even the modern statistician, to point the finger of scorn at the history of the Middle Ages, for the archives of the Roman Empire and of the medieval rulers once were rich in statistical documents.

Only shreds have survived of the immense mass of administrative records once in the central, provincial, and municipal offices of the Roman imperial government.[2] Nothing has been preserved, except a few frag-

[1] See the observations of Ferdinand Lot, "Conjectures démographiques sur la France au IX^e siècle", *Moyen Age*, 1st ser., XXXII, 1.

[2] See article on "Kataster" in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, X, 2487–2493; "Census", *ibid.*, III, 1914–1924; "Kalendarium", *ibid.*, X, 1564–1567; "Gromatici", *ibid.*, VII, 1886–1896, with bibliographies, principally of German works. Among French works on the subject may be cited: Fustel de Coulanges, *La Gaule romaine* (Paris, 1891), pp. 278–282; *id.*, *La monarchie franque* (Paris, 1912), pp. 264–265; Fabien Thibault, "Les impôts directs sous le Bas-Empire", *Revue générale du droit*, XXIV (1900), 32 ff.; 112 ff.; Ferdinand Lot, *L'impôt foncier et la capitation personnelle sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris,

ments, of the great cadasters or land registers in which all real property was inscribed by name, extent, kind of exploitation, whether wheat or olives or grapes.[3] This gigantic cadastral survey was represented in an immense number of sectional maps graven on bronze plates. The entire body of these metal records was preserved in the imperial archives, and local duplicates were deposited in the provincial archives.[4] These surveys and revaluations were made every ten years. The practice was called *descriptio;* the assessors known as *descriptores* or *peraequatores,* and the registers denominated *libri censuales, libri publici,* or *polyptycha.*[5] No registers of the revenues derived from the *portoria* or duties imposed on the transit of trade within the Roman Empire have been preserved, nor any records of the bureaux of vital statistics in the municipalities.[6] The imperial, provincial, and municipal archives of the Roman Empire must have been crammed with land registers, capitation lists, receipts from the

1928); Charles H. Taylor, "Note on the Origin of the Polyptychs", *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne* (Brussels, 1926), II, 478–479. The word "Cadaster" (Ital., Span., *catastro;* French, *cadastre*), meaning a register of taxes, and hence, by implication, a tax, comes from the medieval Latin "capitastrum" or poll tax; Du Cange, *Glossarium.*

[3] "Forma censuali cavetur ut agri sic in censum referantur: nomen fundi cujusque . . . et quos duos vicinos proximos habeat, et arvum . . . quot jugerum sit, vinea quot vites habeat, olivae quot jugerum", etc. Ulpian in *Digest,* bk. L, title 15, no. 4. In *Codex Theod.,* bk. IX, title 42, no. 7, repeated in *Codex Just.,* bk. IX, title 49, no. 7, there are meticulous instructions as to how these inventories were to be made. The inquisition included both property and persons. First slaves were to be enumerated, a distinction being made between house slaves and field hands, then *casarii* and then *coloni*—"quot sint casarii vel coloni". *Cf.* Coulanges, *L'alleu et le domaine rural* (Paris, 1914), pp. 25, 80, 84 and notes.

[4] *Gromatici veteres,* Karl Lachmann, ed., pp. 45, 46, 47, 48, 111, 117, 121, 154: "Fides videatur quae aereis tabulis manifestata est; quod si quis contradicat, ad sanctuarium Caesaris respici solet in sanctuario habet." *Digest,* bk. XLVIII, title 13, no. 8: "Qui tabulam aeream legis formamve agrorum aut quid aliud continentem refixerit vel quid inde immutaverit." *Codex Theod.,* bk. XIII, title 10, no. 8: "In libris publicis et in civitatum ac provinciarum encautariis." *Cf.* Coulanges, *La monarchie franque,* p. 267, n. 1. Land and capitation taxes in the imperial provinces were collected by *procuratores provinciae;* in senatorial provinces by *quaestores.* The provincial bureau in which the cadastral registers and the census lists were kept was called *tabularium.* The existence of the *fiscus Gallicus provinciae Lugdunensis* and the *fiscus Asiaticus* is attested by inscriptions, Karl Joachim Marquardt, *De l'organisation financière chez les Romains* (French translation by Dessau and Domaszewski, Paris, 1888), pp. 390, 397, n. 2.

[5] *Codex Theod.,* bk. XIII, title 10, no. 8: "libri publici"; Cassiodorus, *Variae,* bk. V, no. 14: "Polyptychis jubeantur ascribi."

[6] Capitolinus, *M. Antoninus philosophus,* ch. 9: "Per provincias tabulariorum publicorum usum instituit apud quos idem de originibus fieret, quod Romae apud praefectos aerarii, ut, si forte aliquis in provincia natus causam liberalem diceret, testationes inde ferret, atque hanc totam legem de assertionibus firmavit." *Cf.* Egon Weiss, "Zur Vorgeschichte unserer Personnenregister", *Forschungen und Fortschritte,* May 20, 1929; see also an article in *Zeitsch. der Savigny-Stiftung,* Roman. Abt. XLIX (1929), 260 ff.

customs, inquests of the fisc; and we know that immense quantities of these documents lasted well down into the barbarian epoch. The Roman practice of recording sales of land in the *gesta municipalia* endured until the eighth century.[7] In the sixth century, when the old Roman municipal administration had largely passed into the hands of the bishops, we find the bishops keeping similar registers.[8] The free town population did not wholly disappear with the downfall of Roman municipal government. Its existence may be traced in land sales and leases until as late as the ninth century. Free workmen are still mentioned in Charles the Bald's capitulary of Pîtres (862).[9]

The German nations which penetrated into the Roman Empire and settled in the provinces thereof in the fifth and sixth centuries did not all enter under the same circumstances and conditions. The Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Ostrogoths came in with the consent of the imperial government, and their settlement, on the whole, was a pacific occupation. On the other hand, the Vandals, the Franks, and the Lombards entered forcibly and settled as conquerors. The Roman fiscal organization, accordingly, was less deranged under the former than under the latter, although we may anticipate by saying that the Franks almost immediately—that is to say, after the conversion of Clovis in 496—abandoned the attitude of conquerors and followed a policy of conciliation with regard to the Roman population. In this connection Georg Wolff's researches [10] are significant. For he gives examples of German settlements on Frankish crown lands, or upon church lands which had been donated by the crown, both classes of which had formerly pertained to the Roman imperial fisc.

It is beyond question that the fisc of the Frankish kings was primarily composed of the former imperial fisc.[11] The same is true of the fisc of the Agilolfinger dukes of Bavaria which passed to Charlemagne with the fall of Tassilo in 788. For Regensburg, Passau, Salzburg, Wels, and Lorch had pertained to the Roman fisc in Pannonia before the Bavarian occupation. But although many kings owned land within the cities, the urban fisc played no important part in history. The resemblance be-

[7] Bruno Hirschfeld, *Die gesta municipalia in römischer und frühgermanischer Zeit* (Marburg, 1904), p. 79.

[8] Henri Pirenne, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, *Bulletin*, 1928, p. 182, n. 2.

[9] Alfons Dopsch, *Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit* (Weimar, 1912), II, 167.

[10] "Die Bevölkerung d. rechtsrhein. Germaniens nach d. Untergang d. Römerherrschaft", *Quartalbl. d. Histor. Ver. f. d. Grossherzog. Hessen*, N. F., I, 602 ff., cited by Dopsch, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XVI, 163, n. 4.

[11] O. M. Dalton, *History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours* (Oxford, 1927), I, 218. Camille Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1926), VIII, 48–50.

tween the fiscal policies of the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Ostrogoths, and the Franks is explicable only on the hypothesis, which is easily proved, that each of these peoples adopted the Roman fiscal system which they found in the country occupied; and a considerable amount of information is available with reference to their fiscal administration, though no records have survived. Even the Vandals made a shift of preserving the imperial fiscal system.[12] The *Letters* of Cassiodorus abound with allusions to the fiscal system of the Ostrogoths, and show that the collection of the census and the survey of land were fully in vogue under Theodoric.[13]

In the case of the Merovingian Franks our information about their fiscal system is much fuller than that with reference to the other Germanic peoples, even if with them again all the registers and official documents have perished.[14] Official valuation of estates was continued, although not so regularly made as in Roman times; the fiscal obligations of the great landholders remained as a heritage from the imperial system; much of the revenue of the Merovingian kings was drawn from Roman sources; registration of title deeds and transfers of land were maintained.[15] For two centuries after the Roman Empire had passed away the Merovingian administration adhered to imperial fiscal practices, and its archives must have possessed immense quantities of statistical documents.[16] Here were kept the duplicates of *lettres missives* of the kings,

[12] Felix Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen* (Würzburg, 1866), III, 140; VI, 252 f.; Thibault, "L'impôt direct dans les royaumes des Ostrogoths, des Wisigoths et des Burgundes", *Nouvelle revue historique de droit*, XXV, 698–728; XXVI, 32–48; Ludo Moritz Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens* (Gotha, 1897, 1911), I, 112; III, 42; Giuseppi Salvioli, *Trattato di storia di diritto italiano*, 6th ed. (Turin, 1908), p. 218; Ernst Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1909), I, 308 f.; Ludwig Schmidt, *Geschichte der Wandalen* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 186.

[13] *Variae*, bk. III, nos. 40, 52; bk. V, nos. 3, 4, 6, 16, 17, 18, 40; bk. VI, nos. 3, 5, 7, 8, 9; bk. XI, no. 7. *Cf.* Procopius, *De bello Gotthico*, bk. IV, ch. 20.

[14] J. M. Lehuërou, *Histoire des institutions mérovingiennes* (Paris, 1842), I, 288–303; Georg Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1882), vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 259–267, 317–320; *cf.* index under "census", "tributum", "telonium"; Felix Dahn, "Zum merowingischen Finanzrecht", *Abhandlungen zum LXX Geburtstag Konrad von Maurers* (1893), pp. 335–373; Jules Tardif, *Études sur les institutions politiques et administratives de la France* (Paris, 1881), pp. 216 f.; Coulanges, *La monarchie franque*, pp. 19–24, 156, 174, 178, 268–269, 274–276; Thibault, "L'impôt direct sur la propriété foncière dans les royaumes francs", *Nouvelle revue historique de droit*, XXXI, 49 f., 205 f.; Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age* (London, 1926), pp. 126–128, 172, 443; Lot, *L'impôt foncier*, pt. 2, p. 84; J. M. Pardessus, *Loi salique* (Paris, 1843), pp. 559–562.

[15] Émile Chénon, "Étude historique sur le *Defensor civitatis*", *Nouvelle revue historique de droit*, XIII, 527 ff.; Coulanges, *La monarchie franque*, pp. 286–287.

[16] Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, bk. IX, ch. 30; bk. X, ch. 19; Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 269, 310, n. 2, 321 f.; Coulanges, *La monarchie franque*, pp. 267–268.

diplomata, the records of the fisc, registers of land and capitation taxes. In addition, every bishopric and every monastery had its *archivium*.[17] Thousands of private documents must also have been preserved,[18] and every town had its municipal registers.[19]

In compensation for the complete loss of these documents—save a few charters and diplomas—we have incomparable descriptive information in the *Historia regum Francorum* of Gregory of Tours, in several *Vitae sanctorum*,[20] in the acts of church councils, and in the *formulae*.

The Frankish kings retained the former Roman *capitatio* or poll tax and the land tax (*census* or *jugatio terrena*). The absence of any official acts and the silence of Gregory of Tours on the imposition of these taxes before Clotaire I does not prove that his predecessors had not imposed them. Their customary nature was recognized as early as 535 by the council of Clermont,[21] and there is substantial evidence of the collection of these taxes in succeeding reigns.[22] The sources abound with allusions to these registers.[23]

[17] *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae*, vol. II (*Gregorii I papae registrum epistolarum*, referred to hereafter as *Register* of Gregory), bk. IX, no. 40. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, M. Lejeune, ed. (Reims, 1854), II, 11. Council of Agde (506), art. 26. *Vita Frodoberti*, ch. 11. Coulanges, *La monarchie franque*, p. 19, n. 3.

[18] Documents are cited in *Form. Andegav.*, 31, 32, 33; *Marculfi form.*, I, 34; *Form. Turon.*, 28; *Form. Senonic.*, 38. *Cf.* Coulanges, *op. cit.*, p. 20, n. The formulae are in E. de Rosière, *Recueil général des formules usitées dans l'empire des Francs*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1861–1871), and in *M.G.H., LL.* sec. V, *Formulae merowingici et karolini aevi*. On the nature of these, see A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), pp. 482–484.

[19] The *Gesta municipalia archivia* or *Codices publici* are mentioned several times in the formulae, *e.g.*, *Marculfi form.*, II, 37, 38; *Form. Tur.*, 20; *Form. Andegav.*, 32; *Form. Arvernenses*, 1; *Form. Bituric.*, 3, 6, 15; *Form. Senonic.*, 39, 40.

[20] The most useful lives of saints are *Vita S. Balthildis*, *Vita S. Becharii*, *Vita S. Eligii*, and *Vita S. Sulpicii episcopi Biturig.* The diplomata are in J. M. Pardessus, ed., *Diplomata, chartae*, etc. (Paris, 1843) and in *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*.

[21] *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. III, *Concilia*, I, 71; Lehuërou, pp. 318–319; Lot, *L'impôt foncier*, p. 84. A careful examination of the evidence proves that the principle and the practice of the Frankish fiscal system was a continuation, as far as possible, of the Roman system. The remarkable account of Gregory of Tours (bk. IX, ch. 30) exhibits the history of taxation in Gaul under four consecutive kings: Clotaire I, his sons Charibert and Sigebert, and Childebert II, son of Sigebert. The period extends over more than eighty years, from 511 to 596. It is true that Gregory does not go back into the reign of Clovis, but it would be an error to conclude from this silence that this form of tribute was new in the sixth century. What Gregory records is that *new* assessments were made in the sixth century. But the practice was an established one. The narrative proves it.

[22] "Vita S. Balthildis", Martin Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules* (Paris, 1741), III, 572, quoted in Lehuërou, vol. I, p. 300, n. 2; Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 269–270.

[23] "Libri descriptionum", Greg. Tur., bk. V, chs. 28, 50; bk. VII, ch. 42; bk. IX, ch. 30; *Vita S. Sulpicii episcopi Biturig.*, ch. 6; Fortunatus, *Carmina*, bk. X, no. 11. Other terms were "descriptio", "polypticum" or "polepticum", *Marculfi form.*, bk. I,

In continuation of the Roman practice these tax registers, in Merovingian times, were made up as of March 1. But they were less often revised and kept up to date.[24] The negligence in this respect gave rise to a great amount of injustice and popular protest. In 589 when Childebert sent his mayor, Florentianus, and Romulf, his count of the palace, to Poitiers to collect the taxes "as in his father's time", the Bishop Maroveus demurred against so doing on the ground that "many on the lists had died and the burden of the tribute fell grievously and unjustly upon their widows and orphans and upon the infirm". At Tours Bishop Gregory boldly refused to have the assessments imposed, declaring that Clotaire I, in veneration for St. Martin, had granted the city immunity and that Sigebert had recognized this exemption.[25] The history of Chilperic is peculiarly important for the light it throws on the perpetuation of the Roman tax system. His measures were so harsh that many of his subjects were driven to find refuge in other kingdoms.[26]

These passages show that the Merovingian kings levied taxes as kings, after the fashion of the Roman emperors, and not as proprietors. The bitter resentment against the *census* and the *capitatio* was an important factor in the decline of the house and the rise of the Austrasian mayors to supremacy. In 615 Clotaire II was compelled to legislate in restraint of their abuse. The mayor Florentianus made himself enormously unpopular by exhuming some old tax registers.[27]

The lands of the Merovingian fisc were legally and administratively distinguished from other land, and the registers of the revenues arising from them were different registers from those which recorded the *census*, the *capitatio*, and the *portoria*.[28] The *portoria* were now more commonly called *telonia*.[29] The Merovingian kings sometimes ceded revenues of

no. 19; "capitularium", Greg. Tur., bk. IX, ch. 30. "Polyptychum" was an old word, but "capitularium" was new, Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 270, n. 1. In *Miracula S. Martini Vertav.* (Mab. I), ch. 1, we find "tabulis fiscorum regalium", *ibid.* p. 331, n. 4.

[24] Greg. Tur., bk. V, chs. 4, 29; Lehuërou, I, 312. Lot, *L'impôt foncier*, pp. 87, 88.

[25] Greg. Tur., bk. IX, ch. 30.

[26] "Descriptiones novas et graves in omni regno suo fieri jussit", Greg. Tur., bk. V, ch. 21.

[27] *Edictum Chlotharii*, art. 7, Baluze, *Capitularia regum Francorum* (Paris, 1677), vol. I, col. 23. Greg. Tur., bk. IX, ch. 30.

[28] This is evident from a statement of Fredegar, *Chronicon*, ch. 24, *M.G.H., SS. rer. Mer.*, II, 130: "pagus [pagos] et civitates fiscum inquerendum dirigunt". *Cf.* Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 92, n. 1; Dopsch., I, 69 and n. 5.

[29] Baluze, *loc. cit.*, art. 9. Many Merovingian charters are spurious, especially immunity grants. But a formula of the seventh century mentions offices for collecting *portoria* at Marseilles, Toulon, Fos, Arles, Avignon, Sorgues, Valence, Vienne, Lyons, and Châlons. *Supplementum form. Marculfi*, no. 1; Rozière, no. 32 bis; Coulanges.

cities as dowry, but did not yield proprietorship of the lands of the fisc as dowry.[30] Allotments were, however, made from the fisc to the Church and to favorite retainers in proprietorship and with hereditary right. But it is a moot point whether the new possessor was required to pay the census or not.[31]

The Roman *census* and *capitatio* gradually broke down during the seventh century, although, as has been observed, there are obscure traces of registration of deeds as late as the eighth century. "Even in the sixth century the Roman technique of tax-assessment and registration was maintained with only partial success. Public opinion resisted changes in amount or incidence, and tended to regard taxation as exploitation, or extortion.... By the seventh century the amount of the tax was becoming fixed by custom, probably as an invariable payment due from particular properties." The process was one of "merger of customary land-taxes and royal quit-rents" at the expense of the former.[32]

This decline of both the theory and the practice of public taxation in the seventh and eighth centuries, and the growth of the theory and the practice of proprietorship in its stead were characterized, if not by the first appearance, then certainly by the great prominence and administrative importance of a new kind of land and population register, a combination of the *census de rebus* and the *capitatio* in one proprietary register. This was the *polyptychum*.[33] As proprietorship increased the word became the almost universal term to describe inventories of the royal domain, of

La monarchie franque, p. 255 and n. 5; for the *portoria* in Gaul in Roman times, see *ibid.*, pp. 248–250.

[30] Lehuërou, I, 317.

[31] A diploma of 510, the authenticity of which is open to doubt, makes a grant "absque tributis et exactione", Pardessus, no. 87. Coulanges, *La monarchie franque*, p. 284, says: "Il est possible aussi que personne n'ait soulevé cette question". Independently of this question, we know that sales of land by a Roman provincial to a Frank in Merovingian times gave rise to the issue whether the new owner had to pay the old Roman land tax, or whether the new possessor was free, as Franks were not required to pay the land tax. In Ostrogothic Italy, however, a new owner was required to pay it. "Parati sumus singulis annis pro eadem prædia fiscalia conpetentia solvere unde rogamus uti jubeatis a polypthicis publicis nomen prioris dominii suspendi & nostri dominii adscribi", Gaetano Marini, *Papiri diplomatici* (Rome, 1805), no. 83, p. 130.

[32] The quoted portions of the above paragraph are from Charles H. Taylor, in *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History*, by Students of Charles Homer Haskins (Boston, 1924), pp. 346–347.

[33] "Polipticum est multorum descriptio. pol[is] grece multorum dicitur", cited by Goetz, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der K. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Philologisch-Historische Classe, XLVIII, 75. *Cf.* Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* (Rome, 1832), VI, 43, and Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1923), II, 33.

the lands of the Church, of the estates of private proprietors. This new type of register differed from the old form of registers in that it was technically not a tax register but a rent register. The polyptychs were estate or villa or manorial registers rather than tax registers.

At this point an important and difficult question arises. Were the polyptychs historically derived from the former Roman tax registers? Or were they derived from villa accounts? A close relation between cadaster and polyptych, and the derivation of the latter from the former has long been the opinion of historians.[34] Unfortunately for the establishment of this contention we shall never know as much of the economy of a Roman domain as we do of a medieval domain. For no Roman cartulary, no map, no testament describing a property, no inventory, has come down to us, as many such documents of the Middle Ages have been preserved. All that we possess are the prescriptions of the law. Every Roman rural domain had its stock book which included property and persons (*calendarium*), and its book of accounts (*rationes*) which covered receipts and expenditures.[35] The broadest difference between the governmental *census de rebus* and capitation registers and Roman villa accounts would seem to be that the latter embodied no data regarding revenues. They were ratings of valuation in terms of real property, slaves, *casati,* and *coloni*, not revenue schedules.

The thesis that the medieval polyptychs were derived from the Roman imperial cadasters has recently been sharply challenged by Charles H. Taylor, who contends that Šusta "has chosen to disregard" sources which are inconvenient for his purpose; that the law texts upon which Šusta relies "are of little value for the reconstruction of the plan of a cadaster", and denies that there is "a resemblance in fundamental arrangement between Roman cadaster and Frankish register".[36] A Frankish domanial proprietor would have found information in the public registers only in regard to the extent of villa lands, his own and that of others, the amount of taxes, and a list of *coloni* subject to the

[34] Coulanges, *Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire* (Paris, 1885), p. 84. Lot is of the same opinion, though like Coulanges he is too cautious to state the proposition categorically, *L'impôt foncier*, p. 82. With greater assurance G. Luzzatto, *I servi nelle grandi proprietà ecclesiastiche italiane nei sec. IX e X* (St. Gall, 1910), p. 4, maintains "la derivazione diretta" of the medieval polyptychs from the ancient Roman registers (cited by Dopsch, vol. I, p. 69, no. 10). This is also the conclusion of Josef Šusta, "Zur Geschichte und Kritik der Urbarialaufzeichnungen", *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akadamie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Classe, vol. CXXXVIII, pt. 8.

[35] *Digest*, bk. XII, title 1, no. 41; bk. XXXIV, title 5, no. 1: "quum rationibus demonstraretur".

[36] "Note on the origin of the polyptychs", *Mélanges Pirenne*, II, 477, 479, 481.

capitation tax. But he would not have found any information as to the resources of those domains.

Mr. Taylor thinks that the medieval polyptychs were derived from Roman villa accounts—not from Roman tax registers—and that the system harks back to Egyptian practice.[37] An alternative origin, however, for the polyptychs has been advanced by Meitzen. This is that they were derived from or imitations of the inventories or surveys customary upon the papal patrimony, at least from the pontificate of Gregory I (590–604). Sommerlad is skeptical of this conjecture, and Dopsch rejects it. As to the theory of Holm, reflected by Meitzen, that the system of management of the papal patrimony was borrowed from the management in vogue upon the papal estates in Sicily, which in turn was a continuation of the estate management which obtained in antiquity, Dopsch dismisses it as a "phantasie", but Sommerlad thinks it plausible.[38]

Gareis thinks that the inventories exacted on the papal patrimony inspired the *Capitulare de villis* of Charlemagne—which means that the polyptychs were of papal patrimonial origin—and that the system was introduced into the Frankish kingdom by Abbot Ansegis of St. Wandrille, who had been *missus* in central Italy.[39] It is significant that the word 'polyptychum' occurs very rarely among Merovingian documents, and then is employed in the public sense,[40] and not in the proprietary application. We have the thing, however, if not the word, in a letter of the bishop of Nevers to the bishop of Cahors between 635 and 655.[41]

Aside from the apparent resemblance between the management of the estates of the papal patrimony and the management of the estates of the Carolingian fisc, it is significant that Gregory the Great calls the reg-

[37] "Census de rebus", in *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, pp. 329 ff.

[38] "Diese . . . Vorschriften [des Capitulare de villis] beruhen auf den Ueberlieferungen römischer Kultur, deren Verständniss die südländische Geistlichkeit vermittelte", August Meitzen, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen* (Berlin, 1895), I, 612; Theo Sommerlad, *Die wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der Kirche in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1905), II, 105; Dopsch, I, 70; Ad. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens in Altertum* (Leipzig, 1898), III, 315.

[39] "Bemerkungen zu Kaiser Karl's des Grossen capitulare de villis", in *Abhandlungen zum LXX Geburtstag Konrad von Maurer*, pp. 235–238. On Ansegis as a *missus* in Italy see Victor Krause, "Geschichte des Institutes der missi dominici", *Mitteilungen des Institutes für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XI, 288–289.

[40] *Marculfi form.*, I, 19, which makes mention of those registered "in poleptico publico", would seem to be the last evidence of Merovingian tax registers, and even this may signify registers of the crown lands instead of tax registers. *Cf.* Taylor in *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, p. 347, n. 74.

[41] ". . . descriptionem mancipiorum inquirenda", *M.G.H., Epp., III*, 206. *Cf.* Dopsch, vol. I, p. 69, n. 9. But whether this term is referable to Roman fiscal practice or to Roman villa practice it is hard to say.

ister of the *massa* of Gela a 'polypticum',[42] quite evidently in the proprietary sense. Moreover, the word 'breve' in the meaning of an inventory or statistical view, while common in postclassical Latin under the form *breviarium*, appears to have been used in Merovingian times with the meaning of a procès-verbal, and not with the meaning of a statistical document.[43] The earliest example of the revived use of 'breve' in the sense of a statistical document occurs in Gregory the Great's *Register*.[44]

Now the Carolingian period, from its very inception, was characterized by energetic attempts to introduce regulation and system into the management of both ecclesiastical and crown lands, and the words *breve*, *imbreviare*, and *polyptychum* acquired great currency. I believe that this new statistical interest and this new statistical policy emanated from Boniface and his own and Pepin the Short's close relations with the papacy in the years 751–756. The whole matter was forced forward by the endeavor of the Frankish Church to recover the ecclesiastical lands which Charles Martel had confiscated and distributed as military benefices,[45] aided and abetted by Pepin's ambition to become king and his intervention in Italy on behalf of the pope against the Lombards.

As long as Charles Martel lived no restitution was possible. But when he died in 741 and was succeeded in the mayorality by his two sons, Pepin and Carloman, the situation was altered. The latter was inclined

[42] *M.G.H., Epp.*, vol. III, *Register*, bk. II, no. 38. The same word is employed by John the Deacon in his *Vita S. Gregorii*, bk. II, ch. 24.

[43] See E. A. Andrews, *Latin Lexicon*, for "breviarius"; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, for "brevis", "breve"; Max Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890), p. 247, n. 4.

[44] Bk. XIV, no. 14. On the other hand, the accounts of local stewards on the papal patrimony are called "libri rationum", *ibid.*, bk. I, nos. 18, 44, 54; bk. II, nos. 3, 31; bk. III, no. 55, etc. This seems the place to observe that the system of management of the papal patrimony and the terminology of administration, instead of having been derived from Egyptian villa accounts or the Sicilian estates, may have come down from the oldest possessions of the papacy, *i.e.*, the former fisc lands (*fundi*) of the emperors in and around Rome. The Patrimonium Urbanum of the popes, or St. Peter's property within Roman territory, comprised four separate blocks (*massae*) of land on both sides of the Tiber, besides houses, gardens, and vineyards in the city itself. On these domains within the city of Rome, see L. Homo, "Le domaine impérial à Rome", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XIX, 101 ff., with a map wrongly inserted at p. 147 instead of at p. 130.

[45] There was nothing new in this policy of Charles Martel except the magnitude of its application. The mayor Protadius, who became major domus of Theuderic through Brunhilda's influence; had appropriated ecclesiastical property (Fredegar, *Chron.*, ch. 27, *M.G.H., SS. rer. Mer.*, II, 131; Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 331, and n. 2). Dagobert later did the same, "Coepit facultates sanctorum locorum inquirere et medias tabulis fiscorum regalium inscribere . . . . mediam eorum partem fisco addidit et mediam fratribus reliquit", *Mirac. S. Martini Vertav.*, ch. 1, quoted by Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 331, n. 4. Dopsch, vol. I, p. 69 and n. 5.

to yield to Boniface's urgency.[46] Pepin, however, was less tractable. His refractory attitude, though, changed when he became imbued with the determination to depose Childeric III and assume the crown. Boniface adroitly took advantage of the new situation. For consent of the clergy was indispensable to the success of Pepin's design, and that consent could only be secured by a conciliatory policy toward the Frankish Church, which meant at least partial restoration of the confiscated ecclesiastical lands. At the synod of Estinnes near Lobbes, in 743, an investigation into the use and abuse of the lands of which the Church had been deprived was ordered.[47] But the restitutions were few and the process of secularization of ecclesiastical lands hardly arrested until 751, when Pepin became a party to that remarkable combination of Frankish-Papal and Lombard politics which culminated in Pepin's coronation and his establishment of the temporal power of the papacy in 754–756.

Sagely counseled by Boniface,[48] an inquest into the secularized lands of the Church was made. The *descriptio* was the prelude to a new *divisio* which endeavored to adjust at least the worst grievances of the clergy against the government.[49] Four years later, in 755, the council of Verneuil, in the twentieth article of its resolutions, imposed upon the monasteries the requirement to keep those invaluable *breviaria* or polyptychs which form so copious an element in Carolingian statistical literature.[50]

Charlemagne inherited the statistical tradition of his father's reign and improved upon the policy:

[46] "Et se de aecclesiastica religione . . . aliquid corrigere et emendare velle", P. Jaffé, *Monumenta Carolina* (Berlin, 1867), vol. III, no. 42, p. 112; *cf.* Jaffé, "Zur Chronologie der Bonifazischen Briefe und Synoden", *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1870), X, 407.

[47] The sources and authorities are assembled in Gustav Richter and H. Kohl, *Annalen der deutschen Geschichte* (Halle, 1873), I, 205 and notes.

[48] "Pippinus, monente sancto Bonifacio, quibusdam episcopatibus vel medietates vel tertias rerum [reddidit], promittens in postmodum omnia restituere", *Annales Bertiniani*, anno 750, *M.G.H., SS.*, I, 138; *cf.* Waitz (3d ed., 1883), vol. III, p. 37, n.

[49] "Res ecclesiarum descriptas atque divisas", *Annales Alamannici*, *M.G.H., SS.*, I, 27 (anno 751). For commentary, see Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1904), II, 44; Karl August Hase, *Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 172; Engelbert Mühlbacher, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern* (Stuttgart, 1896), p. 51; Sommerlad, II, 9; Heinrich Hahn, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs, 741–752* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 29–35, 60–61; Waitz, III, 38; Konrad Ribbeck, *Die sogenannte divisio des fränkischen Kirchengutes* (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 65 f.

[50] "Ut illa monasteria, ubi regulariter monachi vel monachæ vixerunt, hoc quod eis de istis rebus dimittebatis unde vivere potuissent, exinde si regalis erat, ad Regem faciant rationes Abbas vel Abbatissa; & si episcopalis, ad illum Episcopum. Similiter & de illis vicis", Baluze, vol. I, col. 174. In this connection it is interesting to observe that Luitprand made an inventory of the church lands in the Lombard kingdom. Cited by Dopsch (I, 69), who refers to Tamassia's article in *Archivio giuridico*, LXI, 129.

> The Carolingian renaissance produced a number of attempts to regulate the administration of Crown estates and of the *beneficia* detached from them. Nor did these efforts of Royal administration remain without influence on the arrangement of ecclesiastical institutions. Lamprecht was right in illustrating the connexion between these spheres by comparing the *Brevium Exempla* with the Rental of Prüm. . . . There is ample evidence to establish the fact that the good times of the Carolingian period were characterized by energetic attempts on the part of the state and of the church to introduce order into the management of their domains.[51]

Even the great landowners became infected with the new zeal for thorough administration, and instituted surveys of their own properties like Charlemagne's inquisitions of the fisc and the abbatial polyptychs.[52] It is incontestable that under the Merovingian kings the land and capitation taxes continued to be collected according to imperial practice, except where immunity negatived their imposition, while it is doubtful whether any but remnants of that administration survived in the time of the Carolingians. When mentioned at all, the capitularies vaguely refer to a tradition.[53] In other words, where collected, the *census* and *capitatio* had the force of customary law.

By the time the Carolingian epoch began neither *census* nor *tributum* signified what they had meant under the Merovingians. There is little which recalls former Roman or Merovingian fiscal practices.[54] The crown lands had become the paramount source of income, and the administration of them an object of intense administrative interest. For "Der König hätte beständig das weite Reich von Pfalz zu Pfalz durchwandern müssen".[55] Charles the Bald, who combined with his literary tastes a vivid descriptive style and who seems to have himself written the preamble to his most important capitularies, has graphically pictured this migratory nature of the life of the court.[56] The indispensability of

[51] P. Vinogradoff, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX, 136.

[52] Karl Gareis, *Die Landgüterordnung Kaiser Karls des Grossen* (Berlin, 1895), p. 10.

[53] "Ut ad illos pauperes nova aliqua consuetudo inposita fuit postea", *Breviar. missor. Aquitan.* (789), ch. 5, *M.G.H., LL.*, sect. II, *Capitularia*, I, 65; "Statuendum est, ut unusquisque qui censum regium solvere debet in eodem loco illum persolvat ubi pater et avus solvere consueverunt", *Cap. missor. in Theodonis villa* (805), *ibid.*, p. 125; "Ut missi nostri census nostros perquirant diligenter, undecemque antiquitus ad partem regis exire solebant", *Cap. de justitiis faciendis* (811–813), ch. 10, *ibid.*, p. 177; "Census tamen singularum provinciarum antiquitus constitutus huius rei occasione pauperibus non augeatur", *Relatio ad imperatorem* (828), *ibid., LL.* [folio vol.] I, 327.

[54] See the observations of Lot, *L'impôt foncier*, pp. 114–118.

[55] Fedor Schneider, *Handbuch der Mittelalter*, p. 112.

[56] Edict of Pîtres (862): "Sicut quando solemus de istis frequentibus itineribus reverti ad mansiones nostras detonsi & delavati cum drappis & calciamentis depannatis, & tunc nos reficimus et reparamus", Baluze, vol. II, col. 157.

possessing full and accurate statistics of the extent and resources of the crown lands, collectively known as the fisc, may be appreciated when one reflects that compared with these resources the other incomes of the crown were relatively insignificant. As M. Lot has observed:

> Il lui [roi] est d'autant plus nécessaire de connaître le montant de sa fortune, d'évaluer ses disponibilités. Il lui importe extrêmement d'être fixée sur les revenus de ses *villae, de ses fiscs*. L'évaluation du rendement en nature ou en deniers est inséparable de celle du cheptel humain attaché à l'exploitation de ces grands domaines. Il était indispensable de relever les noms et les redevances des colons, serfs, hôtes, etc., au moins de ceux qui étaient en âge de travailler. Une démographie, certainement minutieuse, était le corollaire obligatoire de toute évaluation des produits d'un domaine.[57]

The number and importance of Carolingian statistical documents must have been great. For although few of the actual inventories have survived, and those in fragmentary form,[58] the evidence of their existence, the nature of them, and the circumstances under which they were compiled is very full. The first scholar who clearly appreciated the nature, extent, and historical value of these Carolingian statistical documents which have survived, was Karl T. Inama-Sternegg.[59] Of outstanding significance, from the point of view of statistics, is Charlemagne's capitulary in 811. The steward of every villa was required to keep a double record of the income and outgo of the property.[60]

These invaluable inventories or surveys begin with the *breviaria* first

[57] *Moyen Age*, XXXII, 2–3.

[58] We have more or less information about twenty domains, Lot, in *Mélanges Pirenne*, vol. I, p. 310, n. 3; Louis Halphen, *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1921), p. 275. Of one of these the former has made a comprehensive study, Lot, "Un grand domaine à l'époque franque", *Cinquantenaire de l'École des Hautes Études* (1921).

[59] *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte bis zum Schluss der Karolingerperiode* (Leipzig, 1879), *i.e.*, vol. I of his *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. Already in the previous year (1878) he had set forth the matter in Gustav Schmoller's *Staats-und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, vol. I, no. 1; and see also his "Quellen der deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte", *Sitzungsber.*, Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil. Cl. (Vienna), LXXXIV, 135–210. Much other literature is cited in Gareis, *Die Landgüterordnung Kaiser Karls des Grossen*, p. 1, n. The most recent discussion is Dopsch, I, 25–107. For the literature inspired by Dopsch's remarkable views, see my *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300–1300* (New York, 1928), pp. 821–822, to which is to be added Wilhelm Elsner, *Zur Entstehung des Capitulare de villis* (Kiel, 1929).

[60] *Cap. de just. fac.*, sec. 7: "Ut non solum beneficia episcoporum, abbatum, abbatissarum atque comitum et vassallorum nostrum, sed etiam nostri fisci describantur, ut scire possimus quantum etiam de nostro in uniuscujusque legatione habemus", *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 177. *Cap. de villis*, sec. 55: "Volumus ut quicquid ad nostrum opus judices dederint vel servierint aut sequestraverint, in uno breve conscribi faciant, et quicquid dispensaverint, in alio; et quod reliquum fuerit, nobis per brevem innotescant", *ibid., LL.*, I, 185.

ordained by Pepin the Short and which were continued by Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and the later Carolingian kings. Independently of the injunctions regarding the careful keeping of books upon the manors of the fisc enjoined in the capitulary *de villis*, sections 55, 62, similar injunctions are found in the capitularies of Aachen, section 7, in 807, and again in 812, sections 5 and 7.[61] Each judex in every crown land had to prepare for the emperor and furnish to the *missi* a threefold statement covering *naturalia*, expenses of the house and household, and cost of the farm; payments in kind and stock and tools on hand were provided in another *breve*. Charlemagne demanded the account of *naturalia* at Christmas, the money account at Lent. These lists were checked against the reports of the *missi* by a *provisor villarum regiarum* or overseer of all stewards of the fisc. The *Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales* seems to have been a model prepared for practical guidance of the stewards in charge of the management of each crown land, and according to Dopsch it contains excerpts from actual registers.[62] It is a model of description for the agents of the domain of the king. The numbers are not fantastic; the real description of four royal fiscs has been copied. Buildings, yards, utensils, produce, stock, dependent villae, herbs, etc., are all listed.[63]

The *Breviarium rerum fiscalium* is apparently a circular letter in explanation of the Capitulary of Aachen in 812[64] in regard to *fisci regales;* it is based upon a model formulary of the chancellery. This capitulary is most comprehensive in its statistical exactions. Articles 5–7 require every *missus* to make a return of all benefice-holders and beneficed lands, all allods within his circuit (missaticum), "that not only the benefices of bishops, abbots, abbesses, and of counts and of our vassals, but also our fisc lands shall be described so that we may know how much we possess in every missaticum".[65]

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 174. The inventories of the estates of Asnapium and Insel Staffelsee (*ibid.*, pp. 176–179) are examples of many such surveys which were made in Carolingian times.

[62] *Cap. de villis*, secs. 44, 62, 66, and *Cap. Aquisgran.*, 813, sec. 19, *M.G.H., LL.*, I, 184–186, 189. *Ibid., SS.*, II, 291, ch. 16; *cf. Dopsch., Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Vienna, 1928), p. 372. *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 250. Dopsch, I, 79.

[63] Lot, "La grandeur des fiscs à l'époque carolingienne", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, I (1914), 51–58, 77.

[64] *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 250. Dopsch, vol. I, p. 77, n. 4, thinks the date is 810.

[65] *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 170; Baluze, vol. I, cols. 497–498; *cf.* Waitz, IV, 152–153. B. Guérard, *Polyptyque de l'abbé Irminon* (Paris, 1844), I, 19; new ed. by August Longnon (2 vols., Paris, 1895).

Compared with the meager and fragmentary information we have concerning fiscal lands there is a considerable amount of statistical matter pertaining to the possessions of the Church in the Carolingian period; the greatest example of which is the *Polyptique d'Irminon*.[66] In 785 a survey of Jumièges was ordered, and in the same year one of Salzburg. Two years later Charlemagne ordered Landry, abbot of Jumièges, and a Count Richard to make an inventory of the property of St. Wandrille, and we have the total number of its possessions including those held *in beneficio*. In 831 Louis the Pious commanded a similar survey in the case of St. Riquier and important fragments of this inventory are preserved.[67]

In addition to the purpose to promote efficient management of the royal manors and to prevent deterioration of them, another intention of these inventories was to check unjust exploitation of the laboring peasantry upon the crown lands by dishonest and tyrannical mayors or stewards.[68] The constant and reiterated formulae, "invenimus", "reperimus" point to the activity of the *missi dominici* in enforcing these regulations; and fortune has preserved the record of one such inquest which was made in Switzerland about 812–820 by the counts Sicard and Tandard on the lands of the abbey of Mont Joux.[69]

Among other inventories which have survived may be enumerated the *Breviarium rerum fiscalium*,[70] the *Breve commemoratorium*, which is an old "Traditionscodex" of the bishopric of Freising found among the

[66] Other examples are in Charles Lalore, *Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes* (Paris, 1878), IV, 89–237; Ch. Duvivier, *Recherches sur le Hainaut ancien* [Lobbes] (Brussels, 1865), p. 307.

[67] For Jumièges, *M.G.H., SS.*, II, 290; Salzburg, *Indiculus Arnonis episcopi Juvaviensis;* for critical editions and literature upon this document, see August Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi* (2d ed., Berlin, 1895), I, 648; St. Riquier, *Chronicon Centulense*, F. Lot, ed., bk. III, ch. 3, pp. 86–87, 306–308. The government apparently could compel monastic inventories more easily than inventories of episcopal property. For an example of the latter, see *M.G.H., LL.*, I, 177.

[68] This intention may be inferred from *Cap. de villis*, sec. 3, and in some of the *breviaria* there is evidence that local serfs were questioned by the *missi* for information.

[69] *Praeceptum de rebus redditis*—Jugement rendu . . . contre Vultgarius, abbé du monastère du Mont Joux vers 812–20: "Notum . . . quia quidam homines . . . questi sunt coram missis nostris . . . eo quod", etc., *Mémoires et documents*, Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande, XXIX (1875), 21.

[70] *M.G.H., LL.*, I, 176 ff. This is a fragment of a once detailed description of the manors of the fisc and the benefices found in the diocese of Augsburg and in the Wormsergau and adjacent territory. The latter is especially interesting, for it is obviously a model or pattern book of instructions furnished to the *missi* for their guidance, as the frequently recurring phrase "et sic cetera de talibus, rebus breviare debes" indicates. There can be no doubt that the data in these documents go back to genuine inventories. *Cf.* Waitz, IV, 159; Guérard, I, 16 f.

papers of Bishop Erchambert (836–854).[71] A fine example of a Carolingian inventory, without being a *breviarium*, is the *Notitia testium* of the reign of Louis the Pious which deals with the lands of the monastery of St. Gall.[72] Less comprehensive yet valuable inventories—though it is not clear whether they were made in compliance with a special command of the crown, but which seem to be a reflection of Charlemagne's injunctions—are the *Breviarium Urolfi Abbatis de cenobio qui vocatur Altaha* (Niederaltaich),[73] the *Breves noticiae Salzburgenses*,[74] two indexes of the monastery of Lorsch dating from the time of Charlemagne, the *Registrum antiquum bonorum ecclesiae Prumiensis*, and the *Breviarium Sancti Lulli*, which is an inventory of the estates of Hersfeld, originally begun by Abbot Lull, who died in 786, and given its present form early in the ninth century.[75] After the conquest of Saxony evidently a parochial census was taken, for article 15 of the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, probably but not certainly to be ascribed to the year 789, in addition to a house and two *mansi* of land within each parish, provides for a manservant and a maidservant for the priest.[76] Fortune has also preserved inventories of Staffelsee near Augsburg; Weissenburg

[71] This is not to be confused with the brief and valueless annals attributed to Erchambert and entitled *Breviarium regum Francorum inde a saeculo V usque ad A. 881*, in *M.G.H., SS.*, II, 328–330. It has been printed only in part by C. Meichelbeck, *Hist. Fris.* (Augsburg, 1724), I, 126, who regards the document as the bishop's own work. But the initial formula, "Hic innotescit quid ibi invenimus", and also the arrangement, as Inama-Sternegg, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 190, has pointed out, exactly follow the pattern of the *Breviarium rerum fiscalium*. It is evidently an inventory made according to the instructions in the *Cap. Aquisgran.*

[72] Hermann Wartmann, *Urkundenbuch von St. Gallen* (Zurich, 1862), II, 393. Another later but still ninth century example may be seen on pages 394–398.

[73] *Monumenta Boica* (Munich, 1771), XI, 13–14. It is there attributed to the year 731. But since Urolf was abbot from 788 to 814, the document is certainly of the reign of Charlemagne. *Cf.* Guérard, I, 22. It is a summary of the manors given to the abbey by Odilo and Tassilo, the last Agilolfinger dukes of Bavaria, with detailed enumeration of the constituent parts of those manors, *e.g.*, "cum silva vel termino suo, cum vinea, silva ad ligna cedenda", etc., together with the number and status of the population upon them.

[74] Edited by Friedrich Keinz, Munich, 1869. See Wattenbach's comments in *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1870. This is an index made by Arno of Salzburg, the same to whom the *Indiculus Arnonis* is attributed, to secure title and royal certification to the property then possessed by the archbishop. The former would seem to have been a preliminary survey made in anticipation of the *Indiculus*, as there are properties in one which are not enumerated in the other.

[75] *Codex Laureshamensis* (Mannheim, 1768), II, 346 f. *Cf.* Aug. Fr. Gfrörer, *Zur Geschichte deutscher Volksrechte* (Schaffhausen, 1866), II, 377 f. This important register was copied and provided with a commentary in 1222 by Abbot Caesarius of Prüm. It is printed in Beyer, *Mittelrhein. Urkundenbuch*, pp. 142–201. For Hersfeld, see Helfrich Bernard Wenck, *Hessische Landesgeschichte, Urkunden* (Frankfurt, 1785–1803), II, 15 f.

[76] *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 69.

near Worms; and of the *hof* named Asnapium, identified as Gennep, Southwestern Cleves, or as Asnières in Northern France.[77]

Military inquisitions were frequent in the reign of Charlemagne: in 805, in 807, in 808, in 812.[78] The military service exacted by the Carolingian goverment must certainly have entailed the keeping of a considerable amount of statistical data. Every freeman owed this service. If he was too poor to provide the required equipment, two or three or four or five of his neighbors had to help him out. Every freeman possessing at least four *mansi* was compelled to serve in person.[79]

The Carolingian statistical practices inaugurated by Pepin and Charlemagne continued nearly to the end of the ninth century through the reigns of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald. Without citing here the narrative sources particularly dealing with the partition of the fisc in the reigns of these two rulers, one may cite a diploma of November 20, 817, authorizing Abbot Irminon of St.-Germain-des-Prés in company with two others to make a survey of the fisc in the vicinity of Tournai; the *Notitia de monasteriis quæ Regi militiam, dona, vel solas orationes debent,* dated at Aachen in the same year; the military inquisition of 829; and the lines of Ermoldus Nigellus's *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*.[80]

Charles the Bald was amazingly energetic in the matter of exacting statistical information.[81] In 843, being concerned over the rapid disappearance of freemen, he instituted an inquiry into allodial lands; in 846 in response to a petition of the synod of Meaux the twentieth article of the

[77] See Gareis, *Die Landgüterordnung*, p. 11, n. 23.

[78] *Cap. missor. in Theodonis villa, Memoratorium de exercitu in Gallia occidentali praeparando, Cap. missor. de exercitu promovendo,* and *Brevis cap. quam missi dominici habere debent ad exercitum promovendum, M.G.H., LL.,* sec. II, *Capitularia,* I, 122, 134, 136–137.

[79] *Cf.* detailed examination of these military texts in Waitz (2d ed., 1885), IV, 567–574.

[80] Baluze, vol. I, cols. 589–591; *M.G.H., LL.,* sec. II, *Capitularia,* II, 707; *ibid., SS.,* II, 488, verses 521–524.

[81] "We have evidence which indicates that the king sometimes took an inventory of the benefices held from him; the counts and the *missi* were required to report from time to time on the number of freemen in each county that were liable to military service; the *polyptiques* of the abbeys prove that records were kept by the ecclesiastical establishments, of the number and kinds of *mansi* within their domains, and also of the number and status of their tenants; it may be inferred that similar records were kept by the lay seigniors; undoubtedly the bishops had records of the resources of all the priests within their dioceses; and the royal fisc very probably possessed some information as regards the resources of the merchants." Einar Joranson, *The Danegeld in France* (Rock Island, 1923), p. 197.

capitulary of Epernay ordered the *missi* to make a searching investigation into all holders of benefices, ascertaining whether title to them dated from his grandfather, or his father, together with the nature and extent of the obligations, "qui omnia diligenter imbrevient". It is evident that the king was growing alarmed over the inclination of benefices to pass from father to son.[82] In 858 he commanded a *descriptio* to be made of the property of Notre Dame de Soissons. The great *Edictum Pistense* (864) which reveals the good intention, if not the effectual government, of Charles the Bald, abounds in instructions to the *missi* and counts with regard to statistical investigations and the making of statistical reports.[83] In 866 Charles the Bald ordered a census of the whole male free population over twelve years of age, each of whom was required to take an oath of fidelity to the king. The counts were commanded, through their subordinate *centenarii,* to ascertain this information. They were to enumerate not only natives of the county, but also to include all *advenae* who had drifted in, and all benefice holders. The very name of each person was exacted.[84]

The *Edictum apud Compendium* or Edict of Compiègne (868), which deals wholly with reform of monasteries and nunneries, is a minute series of instructions to the *missi.* Statistical information is required concerning almost every activity and condition of monastic and conventual life. Charles the Bald requires to know the number of monasteries and nunneries in every diocese, the number of inmates in each house,[85] the material condition of each house within and without, the amount of clothing, food, drinkables on hand both for the comfort of the inmates and for alms to the poor, the number of lamps, an inventory of the treasures, and a catalogue of the books in every house, the number of allods and benefices possessed by every house, and what losses any may have sustained from the Northmen, the nature and extent of the revenue, and endowments of each, the ninths and tenths for which every house is liable or from which it is relieved, the number of colons and other serfs

[82] *M.G.H., LL.,* sec. II, *Capitularia,* II, 403. Baluze, vol. II, col. 31: "Ut fideles & strenuos Missos . . . mittatis, qui omnia diligenter inbrevient quæ tempore avi ac patris vestri vel in regio specialiter servitio vel in vassalorum dominicorum beneficiis fuerunt".

[83] Baluze, vol. II, cols. 173 ff., secs. XIX, XXVII, XXIX–XXXI. On sec. XIX see S. Loisel, *Essai sur la législation économique des Carolingiens* (Caen, 1904), p. 147 and P. Huvelin, *Essai historique sur le droit des marchés et des foires* (Paris, 1897), p. 153.

[84] *M.G.H., LL.,* sec. II, *Capitularia,* I, 377. For formulas of the oaths see *ibid.,* I, 67, 102; II, 278, 341, 345, 364. In II, 278, is even a specimen of such an inquest in which freemen assert under oath that they have truly sworn fidelity.

[85] The average was twelve, *ibid.,* I, 358.

on the lands of every house. A bishop or abbot might spontaneously make a survey, as Hincmar of Reims did of St. Remi and of the monasteries of Avenay, Hautvilliers, and Orbais, or Jonas, bishop of Autun, of St. Andoche, or John, bishop of Cambrai, of Lobbes.[86]

The history of the partitions of the Frankish Empire in the ninth century casts vivid light upon the use of statistical documents in late Carolingian times. In the projected settlement of 837—it never went into effect—for the first time the crown lands, royal abbeys, bishoprics and counties were enumerated as assets and objects of distribution.[87] We find the same language repeated in the partition of 838, in recording which Nithard obviously had the official documents before him. The prospect of a rebellion on the part of Louis the Pious's elder sons, because of the favoritism shown to Charles the Bald, in 839 compelled a new partition which is minutely described by the chroniclers. The contemplated new partition was evidently designed to be systematically done, for the commissioners, we are informed, had a 'descriptio' in their hands.[88] The signal illustration, however, of the importance of statistical documents is in the settlement at Verdun in 843. In the preliminaries to the treaty, the clergy, deeply alarmed at the condition of things, proposed the appointment of a commission of thirty-six, twelve for each of the princes, who should make a survey of the crown lands, with special attention to resources, fertility, population, and contiguity.[89] The information thus gathered by the *missi* was to be statistically summarized (*imbreviaretur* is the word used), and when done formed the 'descriptio' which has been mentioned. The winter of 842–843 was spent in compiling this information.[90] Finally, in the first week of August, 843, the commission, now increased to 120 members, met at Verdun and effected the great settlement. The text of the treaty of Verdun unfortunately is lost, but it is a

[86] Baluze, vol. II, col. 203; Flodoard, *Hist. Rem. eccles.*, II, 50, 380, 395; *Gallia Christiana*, vol. IV, col. 52; Folcuin, *Gesta abbat. Lob.*, Bouquet, IV, 61; *cf.* Émile Lesne, *L'origine des menses* (Lille, 1910), pp. 11–12.

[87] "Omnes videlicet episcopatus, abbatias, comitatus, fiscos, et omnia intra praedictos fines consistentia cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, in quacumque regione consistant", *Annal. Bertin.*, anno 837, *M.G.H., SS.*, I, 431. *Cf. Vita Hlud.*, ch. lix.

[88] Nithard, bk. I, nos. 6, 7; *Annal. Bertin.*, anno 839. The assumption made by Bernhard Simson, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen* (Leipzig, 1876), II, 207, and accepted by many subsequent historians is erroneous. The word "descriptio" signified an inventory or survey, and not a map.

[89] Nithard, bk. IV, no. 1, ad finem.

[90] *Annales Xantenses*, anno 842, *M.G.H., SS.*, II, 227; Waitz, vol. IV, p. 695, n. 1; Ernst Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1887), vol. I, p. 192, no. 3.

practical certainty that these statistics played a leading part.[91] A study of the later partition at Meersen in 870 confirms this conjecture.

Unlike the text of Verdun, the text of Meersen is preserved, and we know the precise apportionment of the bishoprics, abbeys, and pagi. The business was rapidly concluded. As Sir Francis Palgrave has written: "The division was settled with cautious minuteness and the schedule enumerates all the parcels, as a conveyancer would say".[92] The crown lands are not mentioned by name, but were 'thrown in' with the dioceses and counties, as they were allotted, as shown in the recurrent phrase: *cum omnibus villis in eo consistentibus tam dominicatis quam et vassalorum consistentibus.* Ludwig the German got two archbishoprics, four bishoprics, forty-three abbeys, thirty-one counties, four half-counties, and two 'districts'. Charles the Bald got three archibishoprics, six bishoprics, thirty-three abbeys, thirty counties, and four half-counties.

The decade between 866 and 876 was an interval of relief from invasions by the Norsemen and hence of partial recuperation of the Frankish kingdom, during which Charles the Bald endeavored to tighten the relaxed authority of the crown. To that end, in January, 869, *lettres missives* were sent throughout the realm requiring all bishops, abbots, and abbesses by the kalends of May—*i.e.*, between April 16 and May 1—to make returns of the number and extent of *honores* each possessed; at the same time also in every county the royal vassals were commanded to "imbreviate" the number of benefices held by the count, and the latter in turn was commanded to report upon the number of benefices possessed by each vassal. The check of each class by the other is interesting.[93]

The whole history of the collections of the various local or general Danegelds imposed upon the realm of Charles the Bald, especially that of the great Danegeld of 877, indicates that an immense amount of statistical information was possessed by the Carolingian government[94]

[91] "Prefati tres reges miserunt legatos suos proceres, unusquisque ex parte sua, ut iterum per descriptas mansas aeque tripartirent regnum Francorum", *Annal. Xant.*, 843; *cf.* Waitz, vol. IV, p. 695, n. 1.

[92] *History of Normandy and England* (London, 1851), I, 370.

[93] "... per omne regnum suum litteras misit, ut episcopi, abbates et abbatissae breves de honoribus suis, quanta mansa quisque haberet, ad futuras Kalendas Maii deferre curarent, vasalli autem dominici comitum beneficia, et comites vasallorum beneficia imbreviarent, et praedicto placito aedium breves inde deferent", etc., *Annal. Bertin.*, anno 869. *Cf.* Lot, *Moyen Age*, XVIII, pp. 10–11. The capitulary based upon these findings was promulgated in the following July, *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, vol. II, p. 333, no. 275.

[94] On the history of the Danegeld see Joranson, *The Danegeld in France*, and Lot, "Les tributs aux Normands", *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, LXXXV*, 58 ff.

as late as the last years of the reign of Charles the Bald. M. Lot seems to think that the body of such documents was nearly as complete in 877 as in the reign of Charlemagne,[95] and that it was not only possible but probable that the Carolingian kings knew the number of manors in every *pagus* as the Roman emperors knew the number of *jugera* in every *civitas*, the number of royal vassals, the number of episcopal and abbatial benefices, etc. It is not implied in this statement that the whole kingdom was *amansé;* but the amount of land not so engaged was negligible.[96] Lot sadly observes: "Tout a péri des renseignements recueillis par la royauté. Le même sort a atteint les statistiques dressées par les particuliers, hauts fonctionnaires et grandes propriétaires."[97] Šusta and Dopsch believe that the confection, recording, and preservation of governmental instruments—even the writing (Schreibwerk) of them, had deteriorated.[98] With the opinion of these two scholars Joranson also concurs.[99] Except in Italy all private documents before the thirteenth century have disappeared save for a few scattered bits which have come from ecclesiastical archives. In Italy there are house archives as far back as the tenth century.[100]

From the triumph of feudalism at the end of the ninth century until the beginning of the thirteenth century, there is a poverty of statistical information. And yet the paucity of documentary material of this kind is not so great as usually supposed. The nature and extent of this matter I hope to set forth in a subsequent article. The Capetian kings, notably Philip Augustus, and the kings of Norman Sicily furnish the best examples of this interest, although William the Conqueror's Domesday survey must be regarded as the most energetic instance. But there is more statistical information with regard to the history of Germany, Italy, the Byzantine Empire, the khalifate, and the papacy before the thirteenth century than is dreamed of by the average medievalist.

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[95] "Ainsi, au IX[e] siècle, on a fait de la 'statistique' et on en a fait beaucoup, autant et plus qu'on en a fait sous la royauté capétienne au XIII[e] siècle. Les pièces de service étaient certainement conservées dans *l'archivium* ou *armarium sacri palatii* sous la garde du chancelier." *Moyen Age*, XXXII, 7–8. *Cf.* Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1912), I, 163 ff.

[96] *Bib. de l'École des chartes*, LXXXV, 61.

[97] *Moyen Age*, XXXII, 8.

[98] Šusta, *op. cit.*, p. 50. Dopsch, I, 300.

[99] "It seems very unlikely that the royal officials ever could have secured, as the basis for their calculations, a body of fiscal information that was at all complete or accurate", Joranson, p. 197.

[100] See Bresslau, I, 182.

THE IMAGO MUNDI AND COLUMBUS

THE *Imago Mundi* [1] of Pierre d'Ailly is claimed to have been practically the sole source from which Columbus obtained the ideas behind his project of discovery. The marginal notes on the Colombina Library copy of the *Imago Mundi* are supposed to reveal the steps in the formation of his plans. If it could be determined when Columbus read the *Imago Mundi,* the date of the conception of his project for the discovery of America, it is thought, could be approximately determined.

Bartholomew de Las Casas, friend of the Columbus family and historian of the discovery of America, had access to the Columbus papers and used the *Imago Mundi* with the marginal notes of the Columbus brothers. Las Casas said, "And this doctor I believe for certain prompted Christopher Columbus in his undertaking more than any other man of former times".[2] About a hundred years ago Washington Irving saw and used the Columbus copy of the *Imago Mundi.* Irving said, in regard to the notes, "It illustrates his researches and in a manner the current of his thoughts, while as yet his great enterprise existed but in idea, and while he was seeking means to convince the world of its practicability".[3] After

[1] Students of medieval geography in general and of the Columbus problem in particular are very much indebted to Edmond Buron for a critical edition of the *Imago Mundi.* On the left hand page M. Buron has printed the Latin text and facing the Latin text he has provided a French translation. This is a valuable aid to students, even to those equipped with a moderate knowledge of Latin, because the Latin text is filled with obscure abbreviations the sense of which it is often difficult to determine. In the margins of each version, Latin and French, M. Buron has placed the marginal notes of Columbus and his circle in proper relation to the corresponding text. In copious footnotes M. Buron has added the corresponding text of the various ancient and medieval works on geography. In this way he has endeavored to show the source of the material D'Ailly placed in the *Imago Mundi.* This alone was a most exacting work. Then, forseeing that other scholars might not agree with his interpretations of the obscure and abbreviated Latin, M. Buron assisted in the production of a facsimile edition of the Colombina Library copy of the *Imago Mundi.* This facsimile was issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1927. M. Buron's work is distinctly the most valuable contribution to the study of the Columbus problem which has appeared since the works of Henry Vignaud. The full title of M. Buron's edition is *Ymago Mundi de Pierre d'Ailly, cardinal de Cambrai et chancelier de l'Université de Paris, 1350–1420* (Paris, 1930). The generally accepted form of the title is "Imago Mundi".

[2] "Y este doctor creo cierto que á Cristóbal Colon más entre los pasados movió á su negocio", *Historia de las Indias* (Madrid, 1875–1876), I, 89.

[3] *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (new ed., New York, 1831), bk. VIII, ch. 1, pp. 294–295, n.

Irving, Alexander von Humboldt, John Fiske, Justin Winsor, John Boyd Thacher, and many others have noted the supposed importance of the *Imago Mundi*. Irving, especially, was a friendly biographer. He never raised a question as to the supposition that Columbus sought a western route to the Indies. It was taken for granted that such a plan was formulated years before the first voyage. That plan contemplated sailing westward for 750 leagues, more or less, to Cipango on the edge of the eastern Asiatic world.

Henry Vignaud, much less friendly to Columbus than Irving, contended that the *Imago Mundi* was the source of the cosmographical theory held by Columbus but that the first voyage had its origin in the revelations of a pilot who had been driven across the Atlantic by a storm. According to Vignaud the Colombina copy of the *Imago Mundi* belonged to Bartholomew Columbus and did not come into the hands of Christopher Columbus until after Bartholomew joined his brother in Española in 1494. Subsequent to that date Christopher Columbus formed his cosmographical theory about the great extension of Asia to the east and the 56 2/3 mile measure of a terrestrial degree. This theory served Columbus to explain what he had done. It had not served as a theoretical basis on which the first voyage had been planned.[4]

Cecil Jane held the opinion that the *Imago Mundi* probably did not influence Columbus in his plans for the first voyage. Beyond this Jane is noncommittal. He wrote: "Columbus certainly read and read with extreme care the tracts of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, and more especially the *Imago Mundi,* but while it may be admitted that this work was for him a species of text-book, its share in determining his opinions has perhaps been sometimes overestimated. Quite apart from the possibility or probability that it did not come into his hands until after his discovery of America, when his annotations upon it are examined they will be found to be in the main little more than a kind of analytical table of contents. They do not in general reveal either assent or dissent on the part of Columbus; it is noteworthy that when they do so, it is rather dissent that is indicated." [5]

M. Buron differs decidedly with Vignaud and Jane. He writes that, "like one of his stars—D'Ailly seems to have come at the hour when the

[4] *Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1911), II, 338–340.

[5] *Select Documents illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1930, 1933), I, lxviii.

fateful conjunction of his theories with the idiosyncracies of the Genoese were destined to produce that marvelous effect: the discovery of a new world".[6]

To determine the actual influence of the *Imago Mundi* on Columbus, we shall examine the unquestioned facts of Columbus's voyages and then examine the text and notes of the *Imago Mundi* to see how much likeness and how much difference is involved. In this case the decisive facts are the differences.

There are two essential parts to the Columbus cosmographical theory.[7] The first was an interpretation of geography by which the Asia of Ptolemy was combined with the Cathay, Mangi, and Cipangu of Marco Polo in such a way as to duplicate China and very greatly extend Asia toward Europe by way of the Atlantic. The second was Columbus's own false measurement of a terrestrial degree by which he thought he had verified the Alfraganus figure of 56 2/3 miles to a degree. This degree measure markedly underestimated the true size of the earth and, combined with the duplication of parts of Asia, had the double effect of locating eastern Asia closer to Europe by way of the Atlantic than it is in fact. The Columbus theory was based on a further assumption that the world was a sphere. This last had been taught by the Greeks, and the size of the earth had been measured with a fair approximation to the truth by Eratosthenes about two hundred years before Christ. Ptolemy's later measure had underestimated by a very considerable amount the true size of the earth. During the early days of Christianity the Christians rejected the teachings of the Greek geographers about the sphericity of the earth. However, for hundreds of years before Columbus, the universities of Europe taught that the earth was a sphere. This third fact is mentioned here only because many uninformed people are still under the impression that the rotundity of the earth was a new theory in Columbus's time.

The false interpretation of Asiatic geography which duplicated China is best known to us through the globe of Martin Behaim. There are other contemporary examples of this same interpretation in the map of Henricus Martellus Germanus and in the Laon globe, both of uncertain date. Since the Behaim globe was made in 1492 it could not have been known to Columbus before his first voyage. However, we know, from

[6] *Ymago Mundi*, I, 23–37.

[7] *Cf.* the author's *The Columbus and Magellan Concepts of South American Geography* (privately printed, Glenside, 1932), pp. 8 ff. As this was printed in a limited edition, it is believed necessary to restate the line of reasoning.

the lawsuits between the Columbus heirs and the *fiscal real,* that Columbus was in possession of an interpretation of Asiatic geography very similar to the Behaim concept, if not identical with it. Pinçon, according to the testimony, gave Columbus an "escritura" in which the island of "Sypanso" was said to be 95 degrees west of Spain,[8] exactly where Behaim placed Cipango. Many think that the Behaim interpretation of geography shown on his globe was derived from Toscanelli, and through Toscanelli corresponded with Columbus's ideas. Since the letter and the map of Toscanelli have been questioned, no argument in this study is based on them.

In another place the writer has shown how Columbus measured a terrestrial degree on the coast of Africa.[9] This gave him a firm conviction that the figure 56 2/3 Italian nautical miles was the true measure of a terrestrial degree. Also, it has been shown how the application of this figure, 56 2/3 miles, to the Ptolemy-Marco Polo-Behaim geography placed both the east coast of Asia and the eastern coast of Cipango in substantially the place where Columbus thought that they should be in relation to Europe by way of the Atlantic.[10] Columbus expected to find Cipango at about 750 leagues from the Canaries and he thought that Cuba, found at a distance of about 1150 leagues, was the mainland of Asia.

The error is emphasized by the uncertainty and indecision which existed on board the Columbus fleet when 800 leagues from the Canaries had been sailed without discovery of land.[11] That was the limit within which Cipango should have been discovered. When Cuba was discovered at about the distance Columbus estimated between the Canaries and the mainland of Asia, Columbus landed messengers with a letter for the Grand Khan. He was not seeking Asia primarily, because the terms of his contract required discovery and conquest before he acquired any rights from the Spanish sovereigns. There was no expectation of conquering the land of the Grand Khan. But he could orient himself for further seeking of the rich island of Cipango. His journal speaks of his being in the vicinity of Quinsay, the great commercial city of the East.

[8] *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españoles de ultramar,* 2d ser. (Madrid, 1892–1894), II, 126, 228–230.

[9] *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus* (New York, American Geographical Society, 1924), pp. 1–30.

[10] *The Columbus and Magellan Concepts of South American Geography,* pp. 16–17.

[11] Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos,* etc. (Madrid, 1825–1837), III, 565–568.

Then he heard of the large island to the east of Cuba to which he gave the name of Española. This he identified as Cipango. Fernando Columbus wrote that his father had missed finding the island on the outward voyage because the main axis lay east and west instead of north and south as Columbus thought.[12] Furthermore, the Januarius letter of March 9, 1493, reported that Columbus had sailed in a straight line to the west to reach the East and since the earth is round by sailing west one must reach the East.[13] The Sánchez letter reported that the island of Juana (Cuba) was regarded as the mainland of Cathay.[14] When Columbus reached Lisbon he reported that he had discovered Cipango. This is recorded by the Portuguese historians, Ruy de Pina and Garcia de Resende.[15] There exists a letter of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, dated August 16, 1494, after Columbus's claim to have reached Cathay and Cipango was published throughout Europe, in which they congratulate him because this enterprise was planned, started, and carried out by his hand, labor, and industry. It seemed to the king and queen that all he had said at the beginning would be realized; for the greater part, all had come out exactly as if he had seen beforehand that which he had told to them.[16] Finally, in the lawsuits between Don Diego Columbus and the crown to determine the rights of Don Diego Columbus, Dr. Rodrigo Maldonado—one of the witnesses—testified that it was not believed possible that lands could be found in the parts where Columbus expected to find them.[17] The Behaim globe shows that Cipango was supposed to be a quarter of the distance around the world west of the Canaries.

When these facts regarding what Columbus sought and claimed to have discovered in fulfillment of his plans are compared with the text of the *Imago Mundi,* which is supposed to be essentially the sole source of Columbus's cosmographical theories, a truly surprising fact presents

[12] *Historie del Signor D. Fernando Colombo* (Venice, 1678), pp. 95–96.

[13] *Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Colombiana* (Rome, 1892–1896), pt. 3, vol. I, Guglielmo Berchet, ed., *Fonti italiane per la storia della scoperta del Nuovo Mondo,* pp. 141–142. The collection will be referred to as *Raccolta Colombiana* or as *Raccolta.*

[14] *The Letter of Columbus on the Discovery of America* (New York, 1892), pp. 2–3.

[15] Ruy de Pina, "Chronica d'el Rey Dom Joaõ II, *Colecçâo de libros ineditos de historia portugueza* (Lisbon, 1790–1824), II, 177–178. Garcia de Resende, *Chronica d' El-Rei D. Joâo* II (Lisbon, 1902), 3 vols. in one, vol. III, ch. 165, pp. 20–22.

[16] Nunn, *The Columbus and Magellan Concepts of South American Geography,* pp. 19–20.

[17] Navarrete, III, 589–590.

itself. In the *Imago* text, the island of Cipango is not mentioned, Quinsay is not mentioned, neither is Zayton, neither is Mangi (south China). Cathay receives notice in one small paragraph which for sake of its very meagerness deserves to be quoted. "The moderns divide into other kingdoms and name differently the countries of Scythia Hyrcania and the surrounding regions. Thus they place in Scythia the kingdom of Cathay which is bounded on the east by the Ocean, on the south by the isles of the Ocean, on the west by the kingdom of Tharse, and on the north by the desert of Belema."[18] This is the only mention in the text of the *Imago Mundi* of the regions specifically mentioned and sought by Columbus on his first voyage. The *Imago Mundi* does not contain the Columbus geography of eastern Asia.

We may now take up the evidence of the postils. According to the enumeration by Cesare de Lollis there are 898 postils in the *Imago Mundi*. The writer has carefully analyzed these notes, comparing each of them with the corresponding text and also with the elements of the Columbus cosmographical theory. In making this analysis, the De Lollis enumeration will be retained for reference purposes but a considerable increase in the total number of notes is made by breaking up many of De Lollis's postils into their component parts. This is deemed necessary because it is found by comparing the postils with the text that many of them break up so as to form separate thoughts and thus to constitute really separate notes. Because M. Buron's edition of the *Imago Mundi* does not reproduce the entire text, it is necessary to supplement his work with the *Raccolta Colombiana*. This is not entirely satisfactory because the *Raccolta* only partially reproduces the corresponding text of the *Imago Mundi*. However, none of the text omitted by M. Buron seems to have any essential bearing on the discovery of America.[19]

The following analysis classifies the various notes according to their relation to the text of the *Imago Mundi* and to Columbus's work in the discovery of the sea road to the east.

[18] *Ymago Mundi*, Buron ed., "De quibusdam regnis predictarum regionum", I, 304.

[19] The writer has made use of M. Buron's edition of the *Imago Mundi* and of the De Lollis's study in the *Raccolta* (pt. 1, vol. III, *Autografi di Cristoforo Colombo*) rather than the facsimile edition of the Colombina Library copy of the *Imago Mundi* because he readily recognizes their greatly superior ability to decipher the difficult and abbreviated Latin text and the even more difficult script of the marginal notes. However, the two paragraphs of the text of the *Imago Mundi* quoted on p. 655–656 are translated directly from the facsimile edition.

	1.[20]	2.[21]	totals.
1. Abstract of corresponding text, no significance in Columbus's work	734	339	1073
2. Correction or contradiction of text, no significance in Columbus's work	12		12
3. Statements independent of text, no significance in Columbus's work	57	4	61
4. Significant for Columbus's work, and part of text	18	2	20
5. Significant for Columbus's work, not part of text	7		7
Mere page numbers	3		3
totals	831	345	1176.[22]

[20] *Ymago Mundi* (Buron ed.), vols. I and II, postils 1–510; vol. III, postils 653–691.

[21] "Postille ai trattati de P. d'Ailly", Cesare de Lollis, ed., *Scritti di Cristoforo Colombo, Raccolta,* II, 409–423 (postils 511–652) and 427–445 (postils 692–898).

[22] The marginal notes were written by several individuals. Authorities attribute most of those in the *Imago Mundi,* the *Historia rerum ubique gestarum,* the Marco Polo, the Pliny, *Historia naturale,* and the Plutarch to Christopher Columbus and to his brother Bartholomew. The others appear to have been written by friends of Christopher Columbus. The writer bases none of his conclusions on a supposed Columbus authorship of the marginal notes. The purpose of this study is to show that the *Imago Mundi* was not the source of the cosmographical theories of Columbus. Neither was it the basis on which the plans of the first voyage were founded. As far as this study is concerned the authorship of the marginal notes, it being granted that they came from the Columbus circle, is wholly immaterial. Purely as an academic question, however, the following notes present what is the present state of knowledge on the authorship of the marginal notes that are listed as significant.

The best authorities on Columbus's handwriting are disagreed over the authorship of the marginal notes (in this case the marginal notes of the *Imago Mundi*). Cesare de Lollis ascribes to Christopher Columbus, under what he designates "α type" handwriting, marginal notes 30, 43, 363, 365, 366, 374, 486, 489, 491, 495, 677, and 812. He further ascribes to Christopher Columbus under "β type" marginal notes 23 and 490. De Lollis claims that there are many more of the notes of β type that were written by Columbus but he does not specify which ones they are. *Raccolta,* pt. 1, vol. III, *Autografi,* pp. vii-xxii, and tables lxviii-lxxxxiii, and *Raccolta,* pt. 1, vol. II, *Scritti,* pp. 370–445.

Simón de la Rosa ascribes to Christopher Columbus marginal notes 4, 10, 43, 366, 374, 677, 689, and 812. He does not list the notes by numbers but by pages in the Colombina Library copy of the *Imago Mundi.* The writer has carefully compared these pages with the facsimile copy of the Massachusetts Historical Society and compared the text of the notes on the various pages with the text in the *Raccolta* in order to determine the numbers of the marginal notes according to the enumeration of De Lollis. Simón de la Rosa also ascribes to Christopher and to Bartholomew Columbus the marginal notes on many other pages without specifying which of the brothers was the author. Of course the writer is unable to determine the point. Simón de la Rosa y López in *Biblioteca Colombina: Catálogo de sus libros impressos* (Seville, 1888–1926), II, xli-xliv.

John Boyd Thacher attributed to Columbus the authorship of marginal notes 23 and 621 in the *Imago Mundi* and notes 858 and 860 in the *Historia rerum ubique gestarum.*

This analysis shows only 27 postils as having any significance in the Columbus enterprise. There are 1073 postils that merely abstract the corresponding text, giving the appearance of being nothing but notes to aid in quickly locating passages (there is no index to the Columbus copy of the *Imago Mundi*). Twelve postils are unimportant corrections of the text or postils opposing the thought in the text. Sixty-one postils are thoughts different from the text on matter suggested by the text. Of the twenty-seven postils that are significant in the Columbus enterprise seven are Columbus notes [23] independent of the text. These twenty-seven are postils 4, 10, 23 (parts 5, 6, and 8), 28, 30, 31, 37, 43, 166, 363, 364, 365, 366,

Christopher Columbus (New York, 1903–1904), III, 474–488. The last three marginal notes are not listed above as significant but they have a bearing on the determination of the authorship of the notes. On the basis of note 23 Vignaud concludes that Bartholomew wrote most of the marginal notes. It is Vignaud's opinion that is reflected by Cecil Jane. De Lollis and Thacher agree. In the opinion of both De Lollis and Thacher, Bartholomew Columbus was in London at the time of the return of Dias. Christopher Columbus, however, could readily have gone to Lisbon from southwestern Spain. If Columbus was the author of note 23, he also wrote 621 under the date of 1491. Likewise note 858, in the *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* with the date 1481, both Thacher and De Lollis ascribe to Christopher Columbus. This note could hardly have been written by Bartholomew because he was still in Genoa in 1480. In that case he could hardly have written the note in Spanish in 1481 (*Raccolta*, pt. 1, vol. III, *Autografi*, pp. xvii, 66 and table lxvi, p. 67 and table lxvii). This note 858 is used to determine the authorship of many of the marginal notes. M. Buron thinks from note 858 (*Historia*) that Christopher Columbus had already read a copy of the *Imago Mundi* in 1481 (*Ymago Mundi*, I, 28–29). On the other hand Vignaud thought Columbus could not have used the *Imago Mundi* until 1494 because the Colombina copy belonged to Bartholomew Columbus and he had the book with him in London in 1491. Again on this point Cecil Jane does no more than reflect the opinion of Vignaud.

The most recent student of the handwriting of Columbus is Fritz Streicher, "Die Kolumbus-Originale: Eine paläographische Studie", *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft:* 1st ser., vol. I, 1928, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, pp. 196–250, 6 tables. Herr Streicher thinks only 13 marginal notes in the *Imago Mundi* were made by Christopher Columbus. He admits that the notes of the α type have a disconcerting similarity to the letter script of Christopher Columbus and also to the notes of undisputed Christopher Columbus origin. He also admits that the geographical content points to a Christopher Columbus origin. But Streicher sets aside the possibility of a Christopher Columbus authorship of nearly all of the marginal notes of the *Imago Mundi* because they could have been written only by one practiced in the art of abbreviation and further because the notes betray a classical education in the author. Streicher maintains that Columbus was not an educated man. In this he is also reflecting Vignaud. Every one of the notes cited by Streicher as evidence of a trained classical scholar, when compared with the text of the *Imago Mundi*, prove to be simple abstracts of the text such as any school boy could make. Streicher's rôle should have been that of a handwriting expert contributing by his art to the solution of a historical problem. He abandoned that rôle for that of a historian seeking by means of disputed historical data to throw light on a handwriting problem. His method deprives his possible contribution of value.

[23] Columbus notes in the sense that they come from the Columbus circle.

374, 481, 486 (parts 1 and 2), 489, 490, 491, 495, 677, 689, 812, and 865. Of these 4, 23 (part 5), 31, 37, 166, 490, and 491 are Columbus thoughts independent of the text.

Further analysis of these 27 postils classifies them as follows: postils 4, 28, 30, 31, 481, 490, 491, 689, and 812 relate to the length of a degree as being 56 2/3 miles. Postil 10 is a note on the method of measuring the circumference of the earth. Postil 23 (part 5) is a note that the sea is everywhere navigable in spite of the heat. Postils 23 (part 6), 43, 363, 364, 365, 366, 486 (part 1), and 677 are notes to the effect that between Ulterior Spain (Africa) and India the sea is narrow and can be navigated in a few days with favorable winds. Postils 374, 486 (part 1), and 489 are the reverse of the preceding. They state that by land the distance between Ulterior Spain (Africa) and the extremity of the east is very great. Postil 23 (part 8) states that six-sevenths of the earth is habitable. Postil 37 reasons that Taprobane is not more than 58 degrees from the Occident. Postil 166 notes that there is a Tarsus in the extreme east and postil 865 notes that on the 36th parallel 180 equatorial degrees are equal to 145 degrees plus.

Of these postils 10, 23 (5), 23 (8), 166, and 865 are of the least importance. The two groups 23 (6), 43, 363, 364, 365, 366, 486, and 677 plus 374, 486, and 489 really make one and do not compare in definiteness with the new interpretation of Oriental geography represented by the Behaim globe and known to Columbus in the Pinçon "escritura" that placed Cipango 95 degrees west of Spain as did the Behaim globe. There was nothing in these postils or the corresponding text of the *Imago Mundi* that would enable Columbus to place Cipango 750 leagues west of the Canaries and so to promise his crew.

This leaves the bulk of the importance of the postils to depend on the group of postils numbered 4, 28, 30, 31, 481, 490, 491, 689, and 812. These postils, except 31, 490, and 491, are simple statements that a degree equals 56 2/3 miles (Italian nautical). The real gist of these notes lies in postil 490 contrasted with the text appertaining to postils 490 and 689. Four hundred and ninety reads as follows:

> Note that in sailing frequently from Lisbon to Guinea in a southerly direction I noted with care the route followed, according to the custom of pilots and mariners; and afterward I took the elevation of the sun many times with quadrant and other instruments, and I found agreement with Alfraganus, that is to say, each degree corresponds to 56 2/3 miles, wherefore credence should be given to that measure. Therefore we are able to say that the circumference of the earth on the equator is 20,400 miles, likewise that Master Joseph, the physician and astrologer, found this, as did many

others sent solely for this by the Most Serene King of Portugal; and anyone can see that there is an error in the navigation charts by measuring from north to south across the ocean beyond all land in a straight line, which can easily be done by starting in England or Ireland with a straight line to the south as far as Guinea.

This postil is in the margin of the page whose text is as follows:

According to the author of *La Sphère* the total circumference of the earth, admitting its rotundity, contains 360 portions corresponding to an equal number of degrees of the heavens; each degree represents on earth seven hundred stadia. Eight stadia equals one mile; and two miles make one league.

Thus the total circumference of the earth contains 15,750 leagues. But Alfraganus did not measure the circumference of the earth in stadia. He made each degree correspond to 56 2/3 miles so that the total circumference of the globe contained 10,200 leagues.

This last manner of counting seems to be the better because this author and others have adopted it to establish the measure of the climates.

However these diverse methods of calculation agree, because, according to the author of *La Sphère,* 43 leagues and a half plus a quarter correspond to one degree. After Alfraganus one degree corresponds to only 28 leagues and 2/3 of a mile; but as these leagues and these miles are less numerous, they are on the other hand greater since a mile of Alfraganus is equal to a mile and a half plus one twenty-second [Facsimile edition, p. 42ro].

Postil 689 is very brief, "56 miles and 2/3". It occurs in the margin where the text deals with the varying measures as follows:

Finally, it is necessary for us to examine the measure of the circumference of the earth; on this subject one sees the authorities differ in opinion, because Ptolemy said in the seventh book of his Cosmography that the circumference of the whole earth is 180 thousand stadia, while the latitude of the earth which is known to us comprises 80 degrees or about 40,000 stadia. Each degree contains about 500 stadia as it is understood from the studies of the most careful authorities. However, the author of *La Sphère,* invoking the authority of Theodosius Ambrosius and of the ancient philosophers, said that the total circumference of the earth is 252,000 stadia, and that each degree corresponds to 700 stadia, and as there are in the circle 360 degrees, in multiplying one number by the other there follows the figure above mentioned.

But, according to Alfraganus and the said author of *La Sphère,* in his chapter on the division of climates, to each celestial degree corresponds 56 and 2/3 terrestrial miles. The mile contains four thousand coudées; thus the circumference of the earth contains 20,400 miles and its diameter 6500 and the radius nearly 3250; I say nearly, because the diameter of the earth contains, they say, 6490 miles and 1/10 of a mile plus one tenth and two eighths. The diameter and the radius of the earth measured in this manner gives us the method for measuring all the heavenly bodies for their altitude and their size. Thus one is able to say that the authors are in accord on this measure. Let us note then the disagreement thus exposed is more verbal than real, because in reality for all of the authors, to each celestial degree there

corresponds on earth one common measure although this measure may be expressed among all the authors in diverse fashions, one attributing to the degree 500 stadia, another 700, and a third 56 and 2/3 miles [*ibid.*, p. 88ᵛᵖ].

Columbus emphasized his figure of 56 2/3 miles by his notes in other places. In postil 491 he noted "One degree corresponds to 56 2/3 miles and the circumference of the earth is 5100 leagues. This is the truth." Again in postil 31 he said, "Note the latitude of the climates which you see here, in which all writers agree, each degree corresponds to 56 2/3 miles. And this is a fact, and the rest is only words."

From these postils and the corresponding text it is evident that Columbus did not obtain his figure of 56 2/3 Italian nautical miles as the true measure of a terrestrial degree from the *Imago Mundi*. To Columbus the 56 2/3 Italian nautical mile measure did not mean the same as the Ptolemy measure of 500 stadia. To Columbus the 500 stadia measure equaled 62½ Italian nautical miles at 8 stadia to the mile. Columbus obtained his figure from his voyages to Guinea. The present writer has shown elsewhere how Columbus, mistakenly, supposed that this measure had been verified. Using the latitude of 1° 5′ for Los Idolos islands and 40° 15′ for Lisbon he had a latitude difference of 39° 10′; the true distance between these places based on our modern measurements is 3,244,769 meters. It is calculated that the Italian nautical mile equaled 1480 meters. Therefore this distance in Italian nautical miles was 2192.4 miles. This in turn divided by 39°10′, the estimated latitudinal distance, gives a value of 56 Italian nautical miles to the terrestrial degree.[24] It is most significant of the difference between the views of Columbus and Pierre d'Ailly on the length of a terrestrial degree that Columbus's most important postil on the length of a degree should be found as a postil to that part of the text of the *Imago Mundi* where Pierre d'Ailly asserts that all the diverse measurements amounted to the same thing.

Columbus's notes in effect contradict the text of the *Imago Mundi* on the value of a degree. As seen above Columbus made nine marginal notes in the *Imago Mundi* on the value of a degree. Two of these, numbers 4 and 31, are introduced as independent statements without any corresponding thought in the text. One, 490, cites his own experience to prove that 56 2/3 miles is the true measure in preference to Pierre d'Ailly's statement that all the various measures amount to the same thing. One (491) is emphatic of the preceding. Another (689) repeats the emphasis of 491 where D'Ailly again asserts that all the conflicting measures amount to the same thing. In the two notes 28 and

[24] *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus*, pp. 17–18.

30, Columbus selects the figure 56 2/3 for his marginal note where the text suggests that the authorities differ. Columbus does not notice the other figures. In the last case (812) Columbus only summarized the text. Most emphatically, Columbus did disagree with D'Ailly on the length of a degree. Columbus accepted only the figure of 56 2/3 miles to a degree, as he says, "This is the truth the rest is only words." Pierre d'Ailly thought that 500 stadia, 700 stadia, and 56 2/3 miles all gave the same degree value, only the measuring units differed.

M. Vignaud is mistaken when he says that nowhere does the author of the postils explain, nowhere does he show that he has an opinion concerning the facts which attract his attention, and that in the manner in which he notes them one sees clearly that up to that time the facts were unknown to him. Analysis of the postils shows, however, that 12 times the notes correct the text, 61 times independent thoughts are added to the thoughts in the text, and 7 times notes are added which were significant parts of the Columbus plan and were not abstracts of the corresponding text. Eighty such notes in a total of 1176 are a very respectable contribution to the thought of the text. In addition, it has just been shown that all nine of the most important notes, those on the length of a degree, are, in effect, contradictions of the text of the *Imago Mundi*. Besides, we have already noted that the *Imago Mundi* does not contain the Columbus geography of eastern Asia.

Our own conclusion is that the *Imago Mundi* had very little if any influence on Columbus's first voyage, but that this is not the whole story of the influence of the *Imago Mundi* on Columbus. After his discovery he faced a constant attack on the value and the identity of his discoveries from the adherents of Ptolemy's geographical theories. This is a well-known fact. During the later years of his life Columbus made extensive studies of church literature and had the assistance of others, notably Father Gaspar Gorricio, to discover in Biblical and patristic literature a divine origin and encouragement for his plans. In the course of this study he wrote a book called *El Libro de las Profecias*.[25] It was a favorite thought with him that his name had an allegorical meaning. He liked to compare himself with St. Thomas, the apostle to the East. Others did not fail to call his attention to the thought that whereas St. Thomas had gone from the West to carry the promise of Christianity to the East he was carrying Christianity by the opposite way from the West to the extreme East, to the same people to whom St. Thomas had preached.[26]

[25] De Lollis, *Raccolta*, pt. 1, vol. II, *Scritti*, pp. 75–160. Navarrete, *Colección*, II, 260–273. [26] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

In many ways the *Imago Mundi,* summary of the geographical knowledge of the ancients and moderns, backed by the church standing of Pierre d'Ailly, was very useful to Columbus.

The most important influence of the *Imago Mundi* appears to have been exerted on the conduct of the third voyage of Columbus. Years ago H. Yule Oldham read a paper before the Royal Geographical Society concerning evidence of a pre-Columbian discovery of South America. On a portolan map of Andrea Bianco in 1448 there is shown the outline of the north and east side of an island to the southwest of Cape Verde. It has an inscription on it that Oldham interprets as "ixola otinticha xe longa a ponente 1500 mia". This he thought to signify "an authentic or authenticated island, is distant 1500 miles to the west". Others found in this legend other meanings. It is not even sure that the entire legend is now to be found on the map. Oldham thought that this map indicated a Portuguese discovery of South America before 1448, and mentioned the fact that Herrera had said that Columbus had resolved (on his third voyage) to sail to the southward to find out whether King John had been mistaken in affirming that there was a continent to the southward. Herrera also said that the king of Portugal had professed, in the course of the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Tordesillas, that the demarcation line should run from east to west in the latitude of the Canary Islands. The Spanish were to take all new lands to the north and the Portuguese to the south.[27]

The present writer wishes to suggest that modern scholars have here again fallen into an error that was pointed out in regard to the claims for a Behaim discovery of South America and the Strait of Magellan before Columbus or Magellan made their discoveries.[28] When historians and geographers deal with old maps solely from the standpoint of actual discovery they are omitting one of the important approaches to the subject. There is a theoretical side that precedes and accompanies discovery and exploration that must not be lost to sight. When it is a question of the discovery of South America, the present writer has already shown that Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi* had an important part.[29] The

[27] H. Yule Oldham, "A Pre-Columbian Discovery of America", *The Geographical Journal,* V, 221–240. Carlo Errera presented a different interpretation of a portion of the legend on the Andrea Bianco map. He also disagreed with Oldham's conclusions concerning evidence of a pre-Columbian discovery of South America ("Della carte di Andrea Bianco del 1448 et di una supposta scoperta del Brasile nel 1447", *Memorie della Società geografica italiana,* vol. V, pt. 1, pp. 202–225). J. Batalha-Reis, on the other hand, accepted the views of Oldham (*The Geographical Journal,* IX, 185–210).

[28] *The Columbus and Magellan Concepts,* pp. 8–9.

[29] *Ibid., passim.*

Imago Mundi quotes Aristotle and Averroes to the effect that Ulterior Spain (Africa) and India were near to each other because both were the home of elephants. Seneca's famous statement that the sea between Ulterior Spain and India could be navigated in a few days if the winds were favorable is found in the *Imago Mundi.* Many other passages contain the thought that Ulterior Spain and India were near each other. The same line of thought is reflected on one of the maps in some of the manuscript copies of the *Imago Mundi* (but not on the Colombina Library copy used by Columbus). There was a legend in the lower right quadrant to the effect, "According to some [authors] the southern front [or border] of India is projected [or extended] to the Tropic of Capricorn. Her eastern side [extends] to near the limits of Africa".[30] This represents the theoretical side of the problem of the discovery of South America. None of the writers above quoted have taken any account of this theoretical matter. They have assumed that there were only two solutions of the legend and island on the Bianco map: it was either an actual discovery, which one group refused to accept, or another record of one of the numerous legendary islands of the Atlantic and therefore a matter of no importance.

When Columbus departed from Spain for his third voyage he did not follow the Canary Islands route to Española. Instead, he continued southwards from the Canaries to the Cape Verde Islands and from thence to the southwest as far as five degrees north latitude. He planned with the aid of the Holy Trinity to find islands and mainlands with which God and the Spanish sovereigns should be served. When the lookout reported land, three peaks were visible. Columbus regarded this fact as a good omen and named the land La Trinidad. Why did Columbus follow this route? Instead of quoting Herrera on the reasons for the southern route of the third voyage let us follow J. Batalha-Reis and turn to the *Historia* of Las Casas from whom Herrera quoted.

Las Casas, reporting apparently from the words of Columbus himself, said that Columbus desired to learn what was the meaning of King John of Portugal who said that to the south there was mainland. It was because of this land that the king of Portugal had raised differences with the sovereigns of Castile and in the end it was concluded that the king of Portugal should have all lands east of a line 370 leagues west from the Azores and Cape Verde Islands and extending from pole to pole. The

[30] *Ymago Mundi* (Buron ed., text with tr. opposite), I, 206–213, 234–237; II, 424–427, 526–527, 532–533; III, 660–663. Maps, plate X opposite p. 356; XIII, p. 404. On all these pages of text Columbus made marginal notes.

king of Portugal held it certain that within these limits there would be found valuable things and important lands. Columbus had gone to see certain of the leaders on the island of Santiago and they had told him that King John had a strong mind to explore to the southwest. They also told him that canoes had been found navigating from the coast of Guinea toward the west with merchandise.[31] Is it not much more likely that the basis of most of this information was the supposed nearness of the Pliny, Roger Bacon, Pierre d'Ailly Asia to the coasts of Ulterior Spain or Africa? Vignaud did not notice that in the *Imago Mundi* it was Africa not Spain which was near to India. Columbus in 1497 and King John of Portugal, during the negotiations with the Spanish government leading up to the Treaty of Tordesillas, almost certainly had no knowledge of the discovery of land to the west of Africa before 1448 or at any other time. They were both probably acting on the information contained in the *Imago Mundi.*

When Columbus discovered the mainland opposite the island of Trinidad he recognized from the volume of fresh water pouring into the Atlantic that the land was continental in proportion. However, there was a conflict in his mind up to the time of the failure of his fourth voyage, at least. Marco Polo had sailed from Mangi around southeastern Asia into the Indian Ocean. He had also reported that 750 miles to the southeast from the mainland of Asia was the largest island in the world. The earliest maps indicate the belief that South America was an island. Columbus himself sought a passageway between South America and the coast of Central America—the supposed Ciambà of Asia—on his fourth voyage. Apparently from the Bartholomew Columbus maps, the Columbus brothers changed their view of the insularity of South America after the failure to discover the passageway in the region of Panama.[32] Peter Martyr reported that South America was a peninsula projecting from Asia like Italy but many times larger, and that Veragua and Ciguare were situated like Pisa and Venice or like Fuentarabia and Tortosa. He also said that the Spanish navigators had always regarded South America as a part of Asia.[33]

In conclusion, it is the present writer's belief that the *Imago Mundi* was of little importance in the formulation of Columbus's plans for his

[31] B. de Las Casas, *Historia de Las Indias* (Madrid, 1875–1876), II, 225.

[32] Fr. R. von Wieser, *Die Karte des Bartolomeo Colombo über die vierte Reise des Admirals* (Innsbruck, 1893).

[33] Peter Martyr, *De orbe novo,* Francis Augustus MacNutt, ed. (New York, 1912), I, 271–273.

first voyage. That voyage, contrary to the view of Vignaud, was based on a geographical concept that combined Marco Polo's account of eastern Asia with Ptolemy's geography in the manner of the Behaim globe. Columbus rejected the longitudes of the Behaim concept because he accepted 56 2/3 Italian nautical miles as the true measure of an equatorial degree instead of the 62½ commonly accepted by his European contemporaries. This placed eastern Asia and Cipango at about 1100 leagues and 750 leagues respectively west of the Canary Islands. On his third voyage however the curiosity of Columbus was provoked by the *Imago Mundi* statement that India approached very near to Ulterior Spain or Africa. Following its discovery, South America was regarded for a time as Marco Polo's greatest island of the world, rather than as a part of the mainland of Asia. After the failure of the fourth voyage of Columbus South America came to be commonly accepted as a part of Asia. It was so regarded by Las Casas and Magellan. Meanwhile, in the years between the discovery of America and Columbus's death, when he was constantly faced with the opposition of the followers of Ptolemy, Columbus found strong support for his claim that his discoveries constituted a part of Asia in the *Imago Mundi* of Pierre d'Ailly.

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THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF AN AMERICAN DEPRESSION, 1837–1843

THE year 1835 was once characterized as the most prosperous the United States had ever known. To Harriet Martineau it seemed "as if the commercial credit of New York could stand any shock short of an earthquake", since it had recovered so rapidly from the losses of the Great Fire in that year.[1] Within two years, however, not only New York but the whole country was convulsed by a shock as devastating as any earthquake could have been. Its depressing effects were felt for several years, and even 1843 was described as "one of the gloomiest years in our industrial history". Between 1837 and 1843 American society was passing through the deep hollow of a great economic cycle, and the air became heavy with doubt and distress. Contemporary opinion regarded it as no mere "pressure in the money market", but, on the contrary, as "a national pay day. The Nation has been drawing on the Future, and the Future dishonors the draft. The forcing process is then applied, widespread ruin is the result, and a long period of paralysis ensues."

As early as 1840 the estimated losses due to depression were added up to a total of six billion dollars, but even more important were those losses incapable of measurement, as one writer pointed out:

> Let every individual calculate for himself what he, personally, has lost, what chances have been sacrificed by him, what he might have done, and what he might have been, if the prosperity of the country had not been arrested. . . .

And before prosperity was restored, he predicted a "reckoning of misfortune . . . sufficiently astounding".[2]

Depression came quickly and catastrophically, ushered in by panic; but there had been ample warning. Already in April, 1836, Niles had sounded the alarm, which was repeated in succeeding months, as disaster approached. The notes of warning alternated, however, with the call

[1] *'37 and '57: a Brief Popular Account of all the Financial Panics* (New York, 1857), p. 16; A. M. Sakolski, *The Great American Land Bubble* (New York, 1932), pp. 232 ff.; Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (New York, 1837), II, 270, 274.

[2] Arthur H. Cole, "Wholesale Prices in the United States", *The Review of Economic Statistics*, VIII (Apr., 1926), 76 ff.; also "Statistical Background of the Crisis Period", *ibid.*, X (Nov., 1928), 191; *'37 and '57*, p. 1; Calvin Colton, *The Junius Tracts* (New York, 1844), no. II, p. 16.

to renewed confidence in the continuance of the era of universal prosperity. Even in the midst of the general gloom and panic during the early months of 1837, the wish fathered the thought that the worst would soon be over. It was "now time for people to thank God and take courage. Down with the panic makers, and down with the prevalent distrust. . . . A bright sun will soon dispel the remaining darkness, and days of prosperity and glory will be ours." Two years later, Greeley was still mourning over the "corpse of poor, defunct Speculation" as the unfortunate victim of undeserved slander.[3]

The collapse of business and banking, early in 1837, was, however, only the beginning of a long and severe process of purgation. The purging extended beyond the complicated and congested mass of credits and debits which was the major proof of preceding prosperity. Every class in the community was affected, and economic interests were deeply stirred. As distress spread, political strife became embittered. Social thought, as well as public sentiment, came under the whiplash of depression. The whole pattern of American life thus mirrored the prevailing mood and state of depression.

The propertied classes felt the immediate pinch of the general depreciation of values, and were especially articulate in voicing their grievances. Their plight is recorded poignantly, year after year, in the diary of a man like Philip Hone, merchant, mayor, and *bon vivant* of New York. During 1838 he wrote that half his friends were, like himself, deeply in debt, with no prospect of getting out. A year later, Hone reported that he was now out of debt, but at the cost of two thirds of his fortune. Living was high, and Hone wondered "how the poor man manages to get a dinner for his family". In closing a volume of his diary, in June, 1840, he grieved that he had three grown sons out of work. "Business of all kinds is completely at a stand . . . and the whole body politic sick and infirm, and calling aloud for a remedy". He took comfort chiefly in the fact that a new national administration was in sight.[4]

[3] *Niles' Register*, Apr. 23, May 14, 1836; Apr. 8, 1837; *A Collection of the Political Writings of William Leggett*, Theodore Sedgwick, ed. (New York, 1840), II, 86, 96; *'37 and '57*, pp. 18, 23; *Georgia Constitutionalist*, Apr. 4, 1837; Alexander Trotter, *Observations on the Financial Position and Credit of . . . the States* (London, 1839), p. 43; Captain Marryat, *A Diary in America* (Philadelphia, 1839), p. 16; *The New Yorker*, Oct. 15, 29, 1836; Mar. 4, 18, 1837; Oct. 12, 1839. For a more detailed account of the panic of 1837, *cf.* W. G. Sumner, *A History of Banking in the United States* (New York, 1896), pp. 266, 294, 335; and particularly R. C. McGrane, *The Panic of 1837* (Chicago, 1924), *passim*.

[4] *The Diary of Philip Hone*, Allan Nevins, ed. (New York, 1927), I, 294, 378, 385, 485 f. For the general collapse of values, *cf. Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, I (Aug., 1839),

Not only individuals, but whole communities were involved in the general collapse. There was the case of Buffalo, which Captain Marryat found in a stagnant state, following a period of phenomenal growth. Its leading promoter and benefactor, Benjamin Rathbun, was in jail, while all of his vast enterprises were involved in a series of fraudulent endorsements. With the collapse of prices, the tide of bankruptcy rose, engulfing nearly everything and everyone. "Failures, numberless and without limit, and hardly create a sensation." In the few months of its operation the Federal Bankruptcy Act of 1842 finally wiped out four hundred and fifty million dollars of debts, affecting one million creditors. Philadelphia derived amusement from a spurious message of the governor, which recommended the project of a special railway to Texas for defaulters.[5]

Labor, as well as property, suffered from the prolonged process of contraction and liquidation, although it is impossible, of course, to measure comparably the degree and kind of loss which each class incurred. Labor's loss came chiefly from want of employment and from lowered wages, which created an immediate problem of relief, particularly in the larger Eastern cities. Labor, however, was also subjected to other more general stresses. Class consciousness was intensified, while current doctrines of class antagonism received a sharper definition in theory, and even some application in practice.

The hardships of labor began to command early notice. Already in April, 1837, a call was issued for a meeting of the unemployed in Greenwich Village in order to petition the city for work. An early estimate reported that fifty thousand were unemployed, and two hundred thousand without adequate means of support in New York City. In August, a New York journal carried the story that five hundred men had applied in a single day, in answer to an advertisement for twenty spade laborers to do country work at four dollars a month and board. While announcing somewhat prematurely that the country was now at the bottom of the hill, Greeley added that fully "one-fourth of all connected with the mercantile and manufacturing interests are out of business, with dreary prospects for the coming winter".[6]

185; New York *Spectator*, Apr. 27, 1837; New York *Journal of Commerce*, Jan. 4, 1840; McGrane, pp. 112 ff.

[5] Marryat's *Diary*, p. 48; *Niles' Register*, Aug. 13, 1836; Aug. 12, 1837; May 2, 1840; Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1868), pp. 94 ff.; *Journal of the American Institute*, IV (May, 1839), 506; *Journal of Commerce*, Jan. 11, 1840; Trotter, *Observations*, p. 43; D. Morier Evans, *The History of the Commercial Crisis, 1857* (London, 1859), p. 139.

[6] *New Era*, Apr. 20, 22, 1837; *Niles' Register*, June 10, Aug. 12, 1837; Feb. 15, 1840;

Similar conditions prevailed at other points in the country. A correspondent wrote that two thousand were out of work at Lynn, while wages were reduced to half the earlier rates. In Boston as in Lowell the mills were lifeless, many going only "in mercy to the workmen and all were living on their savings". In the fall of 1837, nine tenths of the factories in the Eastern states were said to be closed. In New York "the markets begin to look gaunt, and the theatres are deserted . . . Winter and starvation are yet some months off".[7]

As winter approached, house renters in New York were planning mass action against the coming quarter rent day. The landlords were advised to wait and to take what they could get, while the unemployed should go rent free. The Erie Railroad offered to employ three thousand men, if the city would lend its credit for supplies. An editorial in the *New Era,* under the caption of "The Poor! The Poor!", warned that some foresight was necessary, or "a civil volcano may explode". Greeley's comment was: "'Hard Times!' is the the cry from Madawaska to Galena." He advised the wealthy and the benevolent-minded to provide work for all who wanted it. To the workers he offered the caution to keep their jobs if they had any. Those without work should stay away from the cities. The South presented little hope, and "the West doubtless offers the fairest inducement to the emigrant. . . . But even Western emigration may be overdone." New York was too crowded, and the city factory had been overbuilt, but there was room within the pale of civilization, and it was not necessary to go "beyond sun-down". In any event, Greeley's advice was, "Fly, scatter through the country, go to the Great West, anything rather than remain here. . . ." The thousands already migrating westward might, however, have to move as far as the Rockies in order to escape the malice of the "Van Buren party".[8]

As predicted, the first winter of the depression was a hard one, taxing the resources of the larger communities in the organization of relief. The problem was relatively new, and relief was largely haphazard. In New York there was a central committee for the relief of the suffering poor, which sponsored lectures and concerts as a means of raising money, but it was generally complained that hordes of beggars thronged the streets and knocked at doors. All that could be done was to see that

New Yorker, Apr. 22, May 27, 1837; Publius, *Remarks on the Currency of the United States* (New York, 1840), p. 47.

[7] Richmond *Enquirer,* May 19, Aug. 29, 1837; *Niles' Register,* June 10, Aug. 12, Sept. 16, 1837; *New Yorker,* Apr. 22, June 10, 1837; McGrane, p. 131.

[8] *New Yorker,* Apr. 22, June 3, July 8, 15, 22, Aug. 25, Oct. 7, 1837; New York *Spectator,* Apr. 11, June 5, 1837.

none froze or starved. Once winter was over, the poor were expected to "subsist on the milder state of the atmosphere". Greeley's sympathy went out especially to the respectable mechanics, "whose cry was, not for the bread and fuel of charity, but for Work! . . . Work! . . .".[9]

Only in certain New York wards, such as the sixth and the seventh, was the organization of relief relatively effective. Here a central executive committee regulated the solicitation of gifts, and everything was strictly accounted for. Orders for food and fuel were drawn upon a common store in the ward, while in the smaller districts visitors were assigned to every block or two. But even this was not enough, and Greeley, whose personal interest in relief was more than casually journalistic, recommended a permanent organization of all the charitable people in the city, as well as a union with similar associations all over the country, "for the extinction of mendicity and suffering from want". Primarily its purpose should be to provide work, and an intelligence office ought to be set up for this.[10]

Greeley's experience with the depression left deep scars upon him and directed his attention permanently to theories of general social reform. He also returned frequently to the specific problem of relief for unemployment. In this he was like a prophet crying in the wilderness. He pleaded for the continuance of public works, which alone kept wages from falling lower. Even if mistakes had been made, it was necessary to go on, especially since prices were down. A year later Greeley again turned to his favorite theme, "to furnish honorable and suitable Employment to every waiting, wanting son and daughter of Adam within its limits". He advocated the creation of an "Exchange of Labor", where purchaser and seller might meet, but it must not be allowed to depress other labor. Greeley had arrived at the doctrine of Man's Right to Work, and insisted that it was only the sound "principle of Mutual Insurance". During the last four years, he added, the loss from unemployment and misdirection of labor had averaged one hundred million dollars a year, and was, therefore, a vital question, "of more importance than any ruling political topic . . .".[11]

[9] *New Yorker,* Jan. 20, 1838; New York *Spectator,* Jan. 4, 18, Feb. 26, 1838; *New Era,* June 11, 1838; *'37 and '57,* p. 30; *Arcturus,* I (Apr., 1841), 303 ff.

[10] *New Yorker,* Jan. 20, 1838; New York *Spectator,* Jan. 4, 1838. New York's experience at this time with the problem of relief supplied the incentive for and finally led to the organization, in 1843, of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, which undertook to put philanthropy on a regular and scientific basis in succeeding years (*Twelfth Annual Report,* 1855, p. 34; *Seventeenth Report,* pp. 13 ff.).

[11] *New Yorker,* Feb. 29, May 2, 1840; July 17, 24, 31, 1841; Charles Sotheran, *Horace Greeley* (New York, 1892), p. 48.

Philadelphia, like New York, had its problem of relief, for which it resorted to the familiar method of the soup house. At a public meeting in 1837, a committee reported that prices were high and suffering great. It was recommended that the state set up public granaries and coal yards, where the miner and farmer could be assured a fair price, and the consumer might buy "at cost". Another committee of sixty was appointed to beg for the poor, who were "dying of want".[12] In Boston the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism became alarmed at the spread of beggary and, in 1838, set up an office for finding work or inducing the unemployed to leave the city. Even in 1844, when work was said to be abundant, the Employment Society had a list of some seven hundred, for whom it was unable to obtain work. At this early date the thought was dawning that some permanent unemployment was perhaps unavoidable in the larger city. In 1845 the estimate was made for New York that "there are at no time less than twenty thousand persons vainly seeking work in this city". Three hundred thousand others lived on approximately a dollar a week per person.[13]

Greeley's plea that the depression must not be allowed to injure labor was, of course, unheeded. In the boom years preceding 1837, labor activity had increased greatly; unions and strikes were the order of the day. The inevitable reaction had followed, and a symptom of it was suggested in the advertisement of a hat manufacturer who offered his services, with those of his workmen, "all of whom are little affected with . . . the moral gangrene of Trades' Union principles". They worked without "the inconveniences, injustice . . . regular combinations, and periodical strikes . . .". The depression favored the further progress of the reaction. In 1837, a journal welcomed the offer of the trade societies to reduce wages, but added that "the labor of voting was quite lost". Wages would come down in any event, and it was hoped that "the employers will to the full adopt the English policy and employ no men who do not forever abjure the unions. . . . The rules of the unions as to hours, pay, and everything else ought to be thoroughly broken up." At a time when there was little work to be had, the advice seemed rather gratuitous that "to work only ten hours in the summer and eight hours in winter is to waste life".[14]

[12] *Niles' Register*, Feb. 25, 1837; Thomas Brothers, *The United States of North America as They Are* (London, 1840), p. 66; J. S. Buckingham, *America* (New York, 1841), I, 113.

[13] *North American Review*, LXI (July, 1845), 13 ff.; R. C. Waterston, *An Address on Pauperism* (Boston, 1844), pp. 10 ff.; *The Harbinger*, Aug. 2, 1845.

[14] *New Yorker*, July 24, 1841; *'37 and '57*, p. 9; John R. Commons, *History of Labour in the United States* (New York, 1921), I, 456; McGrane, p. 134.

The ills of depression were obviously many, and they called for prompt diagnosis and some cure. Here, however, a familiar dilemma presented itself, such as has, in fact, appeared in every American depression. The doctor was also the patient, and neither the diagnosis nor the proposed remedy could, therefore, have the necessary degree of dispassionate and clearheaded deliberation. The ailments, moreover, were at a crisis and could scarcely wait; yet there were many clashing interests. Already in 1840, it was aptly remarked, in reference to the current controversy over banking, that the question had "very little attraction for the generality of men, except at moments of difficulty and distress, moments when they are least of all qualified to form a sound and discriminating judgment . . .".

> [Now, however, like drowning men, they catch at any straw, and] readily adopt any theory which tends to relieve them from all responsibility for the misfortunes which they suffer, and which holds out . . . the splendid vision of a sudden restoration of that prosperity and wealth which they feel to be slipping from their grasp.[15]

Many were the straws thus grasped at in these years; and, if their ability to support and to supply cause or cure was small, they are at least useful in pointing the direction of the wind. It matters little now whether the diagnoses offered were good or true; the important thing is that they represent contemporary judgment. Taken together they constitute a complex pattern of speculation and controversy reflecting the manifold social interests involved.

Of causes to account for the depression there was a prolific abundance, ranging from the trivial and purely incidental to the most impressively profound. What was often only a mere circumstance in the general situation was magnified into a central and vital cause. In this almost mythical age of rugged individualism, the sins of government were too often regarded as an adequate explanation of all social ills. Many of the alleged causes served merely as weapons in the fierce battle of incrimination and recrimination. On the one side, it was charged that the failure to recharter the Bank, the distribution of the Surplus, and particularly the Specie Circular had brought on the catastrophe.[16] As against that, the panic of 1837 was laid to a deliberate conspiracy of the

[15] *Merchants' Magazine*, IV (Mar., 1841), 245.

[16] *New Yorker*, May 6, 1837, for a long list of 21 causes, covering nearly everything. New York *Spectator*, Apr. 4, 1837; Trotter, *Observations*, p. 35; *'37 and '57*, pp. 5 ff.; Edward G. Bourne, *The History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837* (New York, 1885), p. 13.

opposition. Already in the fall of 1836, the Whigs were accused of calling on the merchants to close their stores and offices and to go into the streets as missionaries. Webster's appearance in New York at a critical moment, early in 1837, was "the first formal public step which was to inaugurate the new distress, and organize the proceedings for shutting up the banks . . .". Its ulterior purpose was to coerce the government into submission to the Bank "and its confederate politicians".[17]

The prevailing distress obviously called for a scapegoat upon which public passion might vent itself, and the Democratic administration was not the only victim available for sacrifice. England, in one way or another, was joined with it. Here also what was merely a circumstance was magnified into a major cause and became a theme for angry recrimination. It was held that England was greatly to blame for America's indebtedness, and the obligation, therefore, rested upon her to wait, or worse might follow: "Sustain what you have built." As conservative a man as Philip Hone complained that, in spite of our independence, we were plunged into a new thraldom: "All we undertake to do is predicated on the chance of borrowing money from John Bull . . . and the Bank of England becomes the arbiter of the fate of the American merchant". The more radical view is, therefore, understandable; the issues at stake were patriotism and independence. "General Jackson . . . was fighting in the same cause in which he fought at New Orleans, and against the same enemy." [18]

A shrewd insight into the world's financial interrelations, sensitive to the faintest note of disturbance even in remote China, offered a truer, because less bitter, basis for diagnosis. But this idea also lent itself to the purposes of the partisan and the agitator. The moralist inveighed against the wasteful extravagance and the love of tawdry display which swelled American imports and thus exposed us to the mercies of the international balance of trade. In a more practical way, the protectionist rose to his opportunity in casting the responsibility for the prevailing distress upon the policy of the Compromise Tariff. The American Institute of New York was prepared to lead the country back to prosperity by a return to protection. It promptly issued a call for a Business Men's Convention which met at Philadelphia during the summer of 1837. A four-day meeting of delegates, said to represent all parties and half the

[17] Leggett's *Writings*, II, 97; Thomas H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1854), II, 12 ff.; New York *Spectator*, June 8, 1837.

[18] *Georgia Constitutionalist*, Apr. 12, 1837; Hone's *Diary*, I, 408; *Boston Quarterly Review*, II (Oct., 1839), 493. For a more just statement of England's responsibility, *cf.* J. W. Gilbart, *A History of Banking in America* (London, 1837), pp. 141 ff., 187.

country's business, adopted resolutions deploring the recent haste "to be rich" and the excess of imports and foreign debt. It recommended a return to industry and economy and the payment of duties in cash.[19]

The agitation for the revival of protection mounted and culminated, in 1841, in the formation of a Home League Association, which addressed an appeal to the people to consider "the difficulties prevailing among the productive classes . . . since 1836, and the still greater difficulties apprehended after the final reductions of duties, in 1842 . . .". The American worker must not be reduced to the European level, "underfed and overworked". Local home leagues sprang up in many places, and conventions were held, which issued fresh appeals. The crisis was affecting thousands of people, who were now idle "because no man has hired them". Clay's great authority supported the theory that free trade was always linked with depression, while protection brought prosperity. The agitation promised to bear fruit as the issue was carried into Congress. In 1842 Hone welcomed the tariff bill then pending as the "last hope of our suffering people", but was afraid it would be vetoed. After months of manipulation, however, it passed, and its reviving effects on business were soon widely proclaimed. American labor, in particular, had been rescued from "sinking rapidly into the gripping fist of European despotism, by the approximation of its prices to the European standard . . .". The tariff of 1842 was now to put it "on the true American basis, with the prospect of a fair reward".[20]

Every specific explanation of the depression thus tended to develop into a case of special pleading. On one diagnosis, however, there was nearly general agreement among doctors and patients. It had a moral aspect which offered ample opportunity for indignation and severe castigation. From the President down, it was admitted there had been an "overaction in all departments of business . . . the rapid growth among all classes . . . of luxurious habits . . . detrimental alike to the industry, the resources, and the morals of our people". The government could do something; but, in the main, nature must take its course, and it was not

[19] *Niles' Register*, Oct. 12, 26, Nov. 9, 1839; Richmond *Enquirer*, May 26, 1837; *Journal of the American Institute*, II (Apr., 1837), 338, 396, 438, 492, 609 ff.; *New Yorker*, June 10, Aug. 5, Nov. 25, 1837.

[20] *Niles' Register*, Nov. 9, 1839; *Proceedings of the National Convention for the Protection of American Interests* (New York, 1842), pp. 7 ff.; *Address of the Home League* (New York, 1841), pp. 1 ff.; William H. Handey, *Political Equilibrium* (Hagerstown, 1842), pp. 92, 142; Hone's *Diary*, II, 615; Colton, *Junius Tracts*, no. III, p. 13; John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1918), VI, 65; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures* (New York, 1929), I, 285; F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (7th ed., New York, 1923), p. 113.

the business of government to offer relief. The governor of Pennsylvania condemned even more strongly "that desire which is now so ravenous of acquiring wealth without labour". The "gambling spirit" was responsible for most of the frauds which are being discovered. These have not even startled the public.

> They heard the stories with the most stoical indifference; and if any exclamations were uttered, they conveyed rather a sentiment of commiseration for the criminals, than one of detestation for their stupendous crimes.[21]

To the clergy also the depression offered the opportunity for moralizing upon the evils of speculation. It was God's punishment for our greed and recklessness. Even ministers and religious institutions had embarked upon wild speculations, justifying them as a "means to great usefulness". Now, as a result, false social principles were abroad, and there was a lack of respect for property. The judgments of the courts were disregarded; incendiarism and lawlessness were widespread. The remedy must, of course, come from a spiritual reform. There must be patience in suffering without resort to violence, for there are more important things than wealth: "Lay up treasure in Heaven. All this may be done on a small income . . . Godliness with contentment is a great gain." The depression might even bear good fruit. To be sure, there has been some depreciation, but

> The world stands the same. . . . We are much richer in experience, much more humble, much more frugal, and much more prudent already; and, if the reformation proves permanent, then will even the pressure have proved a good speculation.

Only Brownson, preaching on the text "Babylon is Falling", announced the start of a revolution. Two armies, arrayed under different banners, were "waiting but the signal to rush to the terrible encounter, if indeed the battle have not already begun".[22]

Speculation, however, had its rare apologists, in the very midst of the havoc which was laid at its door. A philosophically minded foreign observer traced its roots to the American character. Less apt than the European for penny trade, the American launches upon daring enter-

[21] *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, IV (Jan., 1838), 3 ff.; Brothers, *The United States*, p. 85; Leggett, II, 87. *Cf.* also one of the earliest satires on Wall Street in *A Week in Wall Street*, by One Who Knows [Frederick Jackson] (New York, 1841).

[22] Leonard Bacon, *The Duties Connected with the Present Distress* (New Haven, 1837), pp. 4 ff.; B. P. Aydelott, *Our Country's Evils and Their Remedy* (Cincinnati, 1843), pp. 9 ff.; *Journal of Commerce*, Mar. 17, 1840; Buckingham, I, 122; O. A. Brownson, *Babylon is Falling* (Boston, 1837), p. 6.

prise. The American credit system was personal and more democratic, hence more speculative. Another traveler believed that a frequent periodic "blow-up" was unavoidable in America; it occurred here once in about every seven to ten years, as against one in every twenty years in England. But even the crash had its utility; it served as a warning, slowing up expansion; and, after subtracting losses, the net gain was still considerable. Greeley likewise argued there was no reason "to be doleful about the matter". Speculation was a phase of the natural growth of the country; it did not produce the scarcity of money. On the contrary, the scarcity checked speculation and further growth. Even its "miscalculation is on the right side". The shrewdest, if not the most eloquent, defense of speculation came from Richard Hildreth, who remarked sensibly that when it succeeds, we call it enterprise. Only when it fails, does opinion stamp it as a bubble. Thus do fashions change; the real difficulty lies in human nature, which always dodges responsibility for its mistakes. "Public opinion rushes from one extreme of blunder to another. It seldom stops half way". Government cannot regulate opinion; it must be the other way around. The best safety valve would be greater freedom from such things as the usury laws and from politics itself.[23]

With the search for the true causes of depression went, of course, the desire to find and apply the right remedy. This released a vast amount of both deliberation and agitation. Much of it was a kind of aimless milling, expressing at most the vague discomfort which derived from real distress. Some of it broadened into the general stream of class disaffection and class conflict, while a large part of it flowed into the channels of concrete program and specific relief. Of these the most important was the chronic issue of banking and currency, but there were also the lesser ones, including the usury laws, imprisonment for debt, stay and exemption laws. For several years both state and national politics were centered upon the problem of relief in its many, often trivial forms. The evils of a preceding boom and inflation had their counterpart in the evils of the depression, in which old animosities were sharpened and new ones created. The underlying riddle, which puzzled everyone, was aptly framed by the author of a pamphlet, under the title of *Common Sense,* and "Especially Addressed to the Most Suffering Portion of our Fellow Citizens . . . the Mechanics". How is it, asked

[23] F. J. Grund, *The Americans* (London, 1837), II, 111 ff.; Marryat's *Diary,* p. 18; *New Yorker,* Apr. 1, 1837; Oct. 12, 1839. R. Hildreth, *Banks, Banking, and Paper Currencies* (Boston, 1840), pp. 160 ff.; also *Letter . . . on Banking and the Currency* (Boston, 1840), p. 9.

this self-styled Mechanic, that a country as rich as ours is "yet pinched for the common necessaries of life? A vigorous, healthy, and intellectual population, yet bowed down with gloom and despair . . . with ruin and starvation before their eyes?" [24]

The cloven hoof of the partisan, however, soon appeared in its proposal that only a restored Bank of the United States "can relieve us". Only the Bank made all men equal, saving them from shavers and brokers. The controversy over banks and currency embraced, as was clearly understood at the time, the general question of price inflation or deflation. Curiously enough, the relation of the creditor and debtor classes to this issue was not the conventional one, nor was their attitude wholly consistent. The radicals, presumably reflecting the debtors' position, clamored for hard money and were against banks and credit, at least in their present familiar form. In vain did the other side, favoring the credit system and its extension, point out that more, and not less money, was needed to save the debtors from disaster. They protested that "the cures of the ignorant are themselves diseases". Hard money and the treasury system would depreciate labor and property by at least two thirds. "All the gain would be to the rich, and all the loss to the poor." Debtors would be forced to pay three times as much, and this country would cease to be the haven of the poor man. Greeley added his dread warning that to destroy the credit system was to throw a million men out of work, enabling "grasping wealth to secure [labor] for a bare trifle . . .". He urged "all sober and reasonable men" to unite "against the quack notions of the day". Protect and extend the credit system, and high prices will bring high wages. A year later Greeley argued that a metallic money "may be made a far more perfect instrument of monopoly and oppression". He was prolific in recommendation and suggestion. The national government might issue and distribute one hundred million dollars in Treasury notes bearing one per cent and receivable for all public dues. New York State should incorporate a gigantic loan and trust company, and thus add fifty million dollars to the circulation, on the security of real-estate mortgages.[25]

None of these arguments and pleas seemed to weigh against the wide distrust of banks and their irredeemable paper money. Even the Hamiltonian advocate of a new national bank admitted that the banks must not be allowed in the future "to grind the very substance from the in-

[24] *Common Sense* (Philadelphia, 1837), pp. 1 ff.

[25] *Georgia Constitutionalist*, Apr. 12, 1837; *New Yorker*, Mar. 4, 11, May 6, July 22, 1837; Feb. 24, Mar. 10, 24, 1838; *Merchants' Magazine*, I (Dec., 1839), 505 ff.; *Journal of Commerce*, Jan. 22, 1840.

debted". A more radical critic warned the workers not to be "deceived about banks and the credit system. Banks to help farmers appear to me something like feudal lords to defend the people." They have only "enabled speculators . . . to seize upon all the great branches of national industry . . . wrest them from the hands of the real manufacturer and put them into the hands of corporations . . .". One of these victims of the engrossing process in industry, Thomas Brothers, was bitter against the new "go-ahead men", but added that even they "are no other than mere slave-drivers to the bankers . . .".[26]

The case against banks and paper currency rested on both moral and practical grounds. To Ingersoll, who prepared a minority report against banks for the constitutional convention in Pennsylvania, which refused it publication, "the paper money mongers are at once suicides and fratricides. They destroy money, morals, law, order, industry, liberty, equality and property." The ancient prejudice of country against city was invoked.

> The countryman, with his dirty acres, is richer than the tradesman on paper pinions . . . . and if country people could but unite against the disorganizers, as they greatly outnumber them, they could put them down with ease at once.

A mass meeting in New York condemned the paper system as neither honest nor Christian.[27]

The credit system did not even supply a steady and reliable medium, as was its boast. On the contrary, its practical effect was "mischievous and ruinous to the permanent prosperity of the country . . .". It kept "the whole country in a complete state of uncertainty and derangement". Actually it was an "anti-credit system", which is generous with loans when money is at three per cent a year, but "demands them back with more than Shylock sternness, when it is at three *per cent* a month . . .". Elsewhere Brownson urged that credit should not be allowed to extend beyond the rock bottom of actual resources. He admitted that such a policy would bear hard on debtors, but they could have justice done them. He proposed calculating the percentage of currency appreciation due to the deflation, which could then be subtracted from the debts. The creditor would have exactly what he lent, but no more. Brownson argued that such deflation, while bold, was yet sound. "It is better to take a

[26] *Merchants' Magazine*, I (Sept., 1839), 220; *The New Era*, Mar. 10, 1837; *Georgia Constitutionalist*, Mar. 4, 1837; Brothers, pp. 70 ff.

[27] *New Yorker*, Mar. 25, June 10, 19, 1837; Richmond *Enquirer*, June 6, 1837; *Niles' Register*, Aug. 17, 1839.

medicine, which will expel a lingering disease and restore us to health. . . . It is better to feel the full shock of the evil at once . . .".[28]

This factor of fluctuating uncertainty in the credit system also troubled as conservative an economist as H. C. Carey, who examined it in a series of articles during 1840. He concluded that "restriction cannot give steadiness", but was, in fact, responsible for increased unsteadiness. The remedy lay in complete freedom of association, subject only to a requirement of "perfect publicity . . . of all associations claiming to limit their liability . . .". This solution of full freedom of association, with its implication of more rather than fewer banks, also appealed to the radical anti-monopolist, who insisted on adding, however, a further requirement of unlimited liability. Such inconsistency of attitude was the symptom of a mental confusion, which earned the pointed censure of a contemporary critic.

> [In spite of our bitter experience with a banking system which many condemn as] the very worst of all possible banking systems . . . yet how fondly do we see the minds of a large portion of the people clinging to it as the ark of our salvation. . . . Banks, more banks,—is the constant clamor at every session of every legislature.[29]

The movement for free banking developed in New York, and led to the enactment of a law for that purpose in 1838. Its opponents complained that the existing banks were adequate for all needs, and that the new ones were merely an incentive to fresh speculation. It was reported that Wall Street was much excited over the measure, and that one third of New York's real estate was free to be turned into new bank capital. Within two years it will "produce expansion, speculations, fortunes, and efforts, such as few at this day can realize". This dire prediction did not come true in New York, but in Michigan a similar free banking law produced disastrous results after 1837. In the next two years it seemed as if "every village plot with a house . . . if it had a hollow stump as a vault, was the site of a bank". By 1839 forty-two of these new banks had passed into insolvency, and a million dollars in worthless notes had entered into circulation.[30] In the face of the strong sentiment for free banking the demand for a new national bank had too clear an implica-

[28] *Boston Quarterly*, III (Jan., 1840), 85; Brownson, *Our Future Policy* (Boston, 1841), p. 44; Theophilus Fisk, *The Bank Bubble Burst* (Charleston, 1837), p. 28.

[29] *U. S. Democratic Review*, II (Apr., 1838), 7; *Merchants' Magazine*, III (Dec., 1840), 482 ff.; Leggett's *Writings*, I, 104; II, 314.

[30] New York *Spectator*, Apr. 7, 1837; *Georgia Constitutionalist*, Apr. 28, 1838; D. D. Barnard, *Speeches in the Assembly of New York* (Albany, 1838), pp. 143, 178; McMaster, VI, 405; Sumner, pp. 312, 403.

tion of monopoly to make any headway. Although a writer, signing himself Aladdin, claimed for Boston a prior right to such a bank as late as 1841, there was no longer any magic in the idea; it had become purely academic.[31]

Under the pressure of general distress alarming symptoms of mass disaffection appeared, and the threat of social disorder loomed large at the moment. There never was a time like this, wrote an observer in 1837. From everywhere "comes rumor after rumor of riot, insurrection, and tumult". The public is ready to explode, "and it matters not what is applied to the train—abolition, Grahamism, high prices of food, bank frauds, or gambling. . . ". He trembled for the security of the country, should its chief props, respect for the law, the belief in God, and the like, be removed. The plan of action proposed was to fight the infidels and the agitators, among other ways, by means of a "Cheap Repository" of tracts, on the model of Hannah More's, for enlightening the people.[32]

In 1841, another writer called "Ours . . . the age of suicide and mysterious disappearance". The restless spirit of the time gathered men into "noisy and tumultuous masses—shouting for change, reform, and progress. The world lives abroad. . . . The domestic feeling—households—are in a measure abrogated . . . ". As for the remedy, there was a great need for "apostles of peace and tranquility". There were too many "alarmists and preachers of agitation. . . . It is necessary that the heart of the age should be soothed and calmed . . . ".[33]

The prevailing "hostility to indebtedness" was a source of apprehension to many, and it was especially deplored that even in respectable quarters there was "an amiable sympathy with what is called 'the masses' ". Already the tangible consequences have been such things as the repudiation of state debts, rebellion in Rhode Island, and a repudiation of debts and rents in New York State. The cry of feudalism was spreading to the western territories, where land offices have been in danger of attack. The anti-rent disputes, troubling upper New York State after 1839, shocked Philip Hone, who described them as "of a piece with the vile disorganizing spirit which overspreads the land like a cloud and daily increases in darkness".[34]

[31] *Proceedings of the Friends of a National Bank* (Boston, 1841), pp. 6 ff.; Sumner, p. 355.

[32] *The Knickerbocker*, IX (May, 1837), 488, 493.

[33] *Arcturus*, I (Feb., 1841), 133 ff.

[34] D. D. Barnard, *The Anti-Rent Movement in New York* (Albany, 1846), pp. 1 ff.; Hone's *Diary*, I, 435 f.; McMaster, VI, 521; VII, 186; Edward P. Cheyney, *The Anti-Rent Agitation* (Philadelphia, 1887), pp. 25 ff.

There was an alarming tendency toward urban disorder as well, for even Hone noted the near-famine prices in the New York food markets early in 1837 and wondered, "What is to become of the laboring classes?" A series of meetings held in New York during 1837 under Loco-foco auspices revealed the scope and direction of current mass discontent. The very first of these meetings culminated in an attack on several flour stores and created particular alarm. The others were limited to the usual resolutions and addresses but inspired fear in those more timid.

> [In language reminiscent of Carlyle, one of these gatherings was described as] standing in ominous darkness, save for the lurid light shed upon their cadaverous-looking faces from twenty or thirty flambeaux. . . . Over their heads, floating in the dark and poisoned breeze, were a variety of banners . . . underneath these stood the managers and orators, who were straining their lungs to swell the sounds of their cracked voices. . . . We might and should probably have laughed, but for the recollection of the lamp-posts, the . . . Jacobins, and the Guillotine.[35]

Actually the resolutions adopted at these meetings were tame enough. They demanded salary reductions in the city government and economy generally; they asked for employment on public works, and they recommended that the destitute immigrants and others be removed to the country. Their strongest resentment was voiced against the "legalized robberies" of the credit system; at the fifth in the series of meetings, it was proposed "to let credit alone", neither to enforce nor to annul debts by law, but to let them rest on honor only. Such a free system of credit would be "simple, efficient, and just". Finally, a call was issued, amid great cheers, for a "New Constitution, based . . . upon the broad and eternal basis of Right". In September, 1837, a Loco-foco convention at Utica adopted a program of constitutional revision, in which the principal issues were embodied. There should be no forcible collection of debts, nor was the state itself to incur a new debt without the people's sanction. These, with other recommendations covering the incorporation of banks and the principle of unlimited liability, became the main features of the movement for constitutional revision which spread into a number of states in succeeding years.[36]

Loco-focoism thus reached its climax in New York in a year of

[35] Hone's *Diary*, I, 243; *New Yorker*, Feb. 18, Mar. 18, 1837; *Niles' Register*, July 1, 1837; New York *Spectator*, Nov. 9, 1837; F. Byrdsall, *The History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party* (New York, 1842), pp. 99 ff.

[36] Richmond *Enquirer*, May 16, 1837; Byrdsall, pp. 109, 141 ff., 162, 174, 188; *Constitutional Reform*, Thomas P. Kettell, ed. (New York, 1846), *passim.*; Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York, 1919), pp. 397 ff.; McGrane, p. 153.

severe depression; its final triumph perhaps was to see the name extended and applied thereafter to the whole Democratic party, although its die-hard leaders protested that it should continue an independent existence as the ideal of Christian democracy. The alarming spread of what was loosely labelled Loco-focoism was, however, reported from other sections of the country. In Cincinnati it was some "English natives, mustard dealers, Penny petticoat lecturers, of questionable sex, and a few American natives", who organized a celebration of Tom Paine's anniversary. The Charleston *Courier* rejoiced that an incendiary call for a mass meeting against the banks had failed. The respectable and the orderly had taken possession of the proceedings. Elsewhere, however, in Virginia, at Philadelphia and at Baltimore, such meetings had been more successful, and the "Panacea Loco-fociensis" had been approved. From the Southwest came reports of more serious disorder. In Mississippi sheriffs had been removed by force, and a courthouse had been attacked. The *Scioto Gazette* rebuked all those who were engaged

> in the diabolical work of arraying one portion of the community against another, the poor against the rich, the laborer with the hands, against the laborer with the head . . . as though the farmer of this year may not be a lawyer next, or the mechanic may not also be a banker.[37]

In the reaction which followed, nativism, a persistent factor in American social and political life, gathered fresh strength and entered upon a period of new growth. A nativist association at Germantown, in 1837, protested that the paupers and malcontents of Europe were spreading radicalism. During the next few years, petitions to Congress, from many quarters, expressed a fear for the safety of republican institutions and complained that a foreign party was being formed. It was charged that the election of 1844 had been decided by an appeal to Europe against America.[38]

Such broad social grievances requiring large general remedies could not, of course, provide adequately for the particular stresses and strains which had developed. Here more specific measures of relief were needed, and many were adopted in proportion as group pressures began to make themselves felt. A close-knit group like the New York mer-

[37] Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, May 5, 1838; *Scioto Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1838; Richmond *Enquirer*, May 26, June 6, 30, July 18, 1837; *New Yorker*, March 25, 1837; McMaster, VI, 398.

[38] McMaster, VI, 367; VII, 369 ff., 385 ff.; also by the same author, *The Acquisition of Political, Social, and Industrial Rights of Man in America* (Cleveland, 1903), p. 104; J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1884), I, 663 ff.

chants was quick to formulate its demands in concrete form. Already in May, 1837, they asked the state to lend its credit to distressed merchants up to six million dollars for a period of ten years. A committee was also dispatched to Washington to demand a special session of Congress, the revocation of the Specie Circular, and the suspension of suits against defaulters on customs bonds. When Congress met in special session in September, it granted relief to merchants, among other provisions, by extending their customs bonds until 1839.[39] In the meantime, on all sides "Relief was the cry—regulation of the currency—a National Bank!" Party conflicts were waged keenly with weapons forged in the existing state of depression. It was the misfortune of the Van Buren administration that its career began just before the panic broke. Thereafter it labored under a great handicap; "the single cry of the opposition is 'turn out the rogues' ", which in the end succeeded. To their own needs and to those of others the legislatures of states and nation addressed themselves, pouring forth a mass of relief legislation, which defies complete enumeration or even classification.[40]

The immediate danger of financial stringency in the Federal government was averted by an issue of ten million dollars in one-year Treasury notes, while the distribution of the fourth installment of the now theoretical surplus was postponed, never to be made. The issue of the Independent Treasury was brought to the front, and remained crucial for several years. Federal finances generally entered upon a period of growing deficiency as revenues fell from a peak of forty-eight millions in 1836 to fifteen millions in 1838 and an estimated twenty-three millions in 1839. In four years the Van Buren administration was charged with an accumulated deficit of fifty millions, and the Secretary of the Treasury made the desperate, if rather academic, suggestion that the states return a part of the surplus on deposit with them. An apologist for the government shrewdly observed that retrenchment had not failed for want of an earnest desire to "reduce expenses, and thus gain the credit with the people of loving economy". But "expenditures do go on, and will go on increasing", and the beginning of a new national debt was unavoidable.[41]

[39] *New Yorker*, Apr. 29, 1837; *Georgia Constitutionalist*, Apr. 22, 1837; McMaster, VI, 395; *U. S. Democratic Review*, IV (Jan., 1838), 17.

[40] *Scioto Gazette*, Apr. 19, 1838; Junius, *The Crisis* (New York, 1840), p. 14; *U. S. Democratic Review*, IV (Jan., 1838), 1 ff.; V, 350; *Niles' Register*, May 20, 1837.

[41] *U. S. Democratic Review*, IV, 49; *Jeffersonian* [Albany], Sept. 8, 29, 1838; *New Yorker*, Dec. 28, 1839; Feb. 22, 1840; *Kendall's Expositor*, Oct. 21, 1841; *Niles' Register*, Feb. 9, 1839; *Merchants' Magazine*, I (Sept., Dec., 1839), 271, 498; Colton, *The Junius Tracts*, no. I, p. 10; *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, Charles Francis Adams, ed. (Philadelphia, 1876), IX, 376; Bourne, p. 41; McGrane, p. 209.

Under a new administration, in 1841, a special session of Congress authorized a loan of twelve million dollars, and five millions more in 1842. Special duties were added to provide more revenue. A critic appraised the policy of "Whig Retrenchment and Reform" as meaning more taxes, more expenditures, a new debt, and continuing deficits. A more friendly writer, however, reviewed the solid achievements of what he described as the diligent and disciplined body of honest men comprising the Twenty-seventh Congress (1841–1843), which had really tried to restore prosperity by enacting a record number of bills in three sessions of unprecedented length. In all there were 514 laws, including a new tariff and a Federal bankruptcy act.[42]

Like the Federal government, few states escaped without a deficit in their ordinary budgets. Pennsylvania had a shortage of one million dollars in 1839, and resorted to rather questionable methods in raising a loan to cover arrears. New York, with better credit, was able to borrow three millions in 1841. Massachusetts pledged itself to meet future expenses by means of "taxation and retrenchment". Maryland adopted new taxes in 1841; Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois increased their land taxes by as much as fifty per cent.[43] Many of the states were further embarrassed by the heavy burden of their debts, which in 1840 amounted to nearly two hundred million dollars. More than half of it was held abroad, and the suspension of specie in 1837 presented the immediate question of how current interest was to be paid. Pennsylvania and Maryland at first demurred but eventually fell into line and agreed to pay in specie or its equivalent, by adding the prevailing premium.[44]

Especially serious, however, was the fact that after a time some of the states could not meet the interest requirements at all; between 1841 and 1842 eight states went into default, and two or three even repudiated part of their debts. For several years default and repudiation supplied the occasion for international recrimination and embittered public opinion on both sides. As early as 1840 the Senate lectured the states on their extravagance and rejected the proposal to transfer the state debts to the Federal government. Various schemes of this kind received currency,

[42] *New Yorker*, Mar. 27, 1841; Colton, pp. 12 ff.; *Kendall's Expositor*, July 14, Aug. 4, Oct. 6, 21, Nov. 18, 1841; McMaster, VII, 57, 65.

[43] Albert Gallatin, *Suggestions on the Banks and Currency of the Several United States* (New York, 1841), pp. 48 ff.; *Kendall's Expositor*, Mar. 17, May 5, 1841; *The American Almanac* (Boston, 1842), pp. 100 ff.

[44] *American Almanac* for 1842, p. 97; Trotter, pp. 105, 350; R. C. McGrane, "Some Aspects of American State Debts in the Forties", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII (July, 1933), 673; William A. Scott, *The Repudiation of State Debts* (New York, 1893), p. 277.

however, but were met with the objection, among others, that only the Rothschilds and the Barings would really be relieved by them. As late as 1843 the movement for Federal assumption of state debts was again stopped in the Senate.[45]

In the meantime, however, even Federal credit suffered abroad. In 1842, the Treasury was unable to negotiate a loan in Europe, and the agent reported that the bankers did not now dare to offer American bonds to their clients. Partly it was because the bankers hoped to force the government into assuming the state debts, but also "partly, perhaps, from real doubts of the solidity of our institutions, and, partly, probably, with a view to make us all feel discredit . . . sensibly". In vain did one writer protest that such discredit was not deserved. The Federal government had virtually no debt; two thirds of the states were paying theirs, but Europe persisted in misunderstanding us, even in such a matter as the recent failure of the Bank of the United States. Europe now believed it was a national establishment, only because they "wish it to be believed so . . .".[46]

With its roots back in 1837, a broad movement for the revision of state constitutions was traced by a contemporary chronicler to "one single cause—the improvidence of the Legislature in contracting debts on behalf of the State". In New York, although far from being the worst offender, the spirit of reform grew "after the State had been threatened with bankruptcy". Other forces contributed to it, of course, and by 1847 states as far apart as New York and Louisiana, Iowa and New Jersey, Texas and Missouri had framed new constitutions. It was predicted that before long this cycle of constitutional revision would have reached one third of the states. With many variations in detail, the new constitutions agreed particularly in curbing the economic powers of the legislature. In general, it might not lend its credit to or acquire stock in any private enterprise, nor could the legislature incur a new debt beyond a certain amount, often set as low as fifty thousand dollars, without the people's sanction and without ample provision for its repayment. In addition, stringent rules were imposed upon the legislature in the incorporation of banks and other enterprises. Where not forbidden entirely, banks were to bear full, unlimited liability; in New York, how-

[45] *North American Review*, LVIII (Jan., 1844), 122; *Journal of Commerce*, Feb. 13, 1840; *Kendall's Expositor*, Mar. 30, 1841; *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 680 ff.; Scott, pp. 228, 248; McMaster, VI, 352 ff.; VII, 43; Leland Hamilton Jenks, *The Migration of British Capital* (New York, 1927), pp. 100 ff.

[46] Thomas G. Cary, *Letter to a Lady in France* (Boston, 1844), pp. 10 ff.; Scott, p. 258; Sydney Smith, *Letters on American Debts* (New York, 1844), *passim*.

ever, only double liability. New York also abolished all feudal tenures. The most advanced of these new constitutions, in Louisiana, received the tribute that "up to this day, it is doubtless the wisest political Constitution in force over any nation or people in the world".[47]

The private citizen, as well as the state, needed protection against past abuse and present hardship. If the banks were permitted to suspend specie payments, some form of stay for the ordinary debtor would be only a just equivalent. Besides authorizing a five million dollar loan for the benefit of debtors, Alabama provided for the deferred repayment of bank debts. Illinois had a similar stay law, while Virginia required the creditor to accept current bank notes, or wait. In a number of states the collection of debts was linked up with the principle of appraisal. In Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Mississippi, and Illinois property could not be sold at a forced sale, unless it brought a minimum price, usually two thirds of the appraised value. When the Supreme Court declared the Illinois appraisal law unconstitutional, in 1843, a local meeting recommended that the verdict should be resisted.[48] The debtor's right to the exemption of a portion of his property from a forced sale was also reinforced and extended in many states. Under a law of 1842, New York allowed the householder and mechanic to retain furniture and tools worth one hundred and fifty dollars. Michigan protected the lumberman's oxen, the farmer's implements, and the housewife's furniture against seizure for debt. Mississippi exempted as much as one hundred and sixty acres, together with the necessary livestock and provisions.[49]

Imprisonment for debt was a grievance of long standing, but the movement for its abolition received a fresh impetus after 1837. Between 1837 and 1842, Ohio, Vermont, Indiana, New Hampshire, Louisiana, Connecticut, and Mississippi left fraud as the only legal ground for imprisoning the debtor. An act of 1840 placed the non-resident debtor on the same basis as the resident of New York in respect to imprisonment. In 1839 Congress instructed the Federal courts to conform to the law of the state in which suit was made as regards the imprisonment of debtors. There was even a proposal that a constitutional amendment

[47] *Constitutional Reform, passim;* Arthur May Mowry, *The Dorr War* (Providence, 1901), pp. 335, 375; McMaster, VII, 182 ff.

[48] William M. Gouge, *An Enquiry into . . . the Fiscal Concerns of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1837), p. 40; *New Yorker,* May 20, 1837; Richmond *Enquirer,* July 4, 7, 11, Aug. 4, 1837; Feb. 6, 1838; Cincinnati *Daily Gazette,* Apr. 14, 1838; McMaster, VI, 624 ff.; VII, 44 ff.

[49] McMaster, VII, 47.

take the remnant of that barbarous power away from the states altogether.[50] As in 1819, during an earlier depression, so now there was a new effort to bring the whole process of bankruptcy under a Federal law. It was urged that the eagle of prosperity, having soared, "has since fallen, with broken pinions, to the earth". Many had failed, through no fault of theirs. Only men with hearts of stone, who want their pound of flesh, oppose this reform, as they have also opposed the abolition of imprisonment for debt. "Such men were born an age too late." [51]

First offered as an emergency measure by the Van Buren administration, the Federal bankruptcy bill was held up until 1841. It was then revived under Whig auspices and passed, but was repealed in the following year. It lasted long enough, however, to afford a large measure of relief; according to one estimate, twenty-eight thousand debtors freed themselves from nearly a half billion dollars of debt at an average cost of little more than ten per cent in assets surrendered.[52]

Still another question affecting debtors, theoretically if not practically, aroused considerable controversy at this time. The New York legislature rejected a proposal to repeal the existing usury laws and, in fact, adopted a more stringent act in 1837. In the discussion which accompanied it, credit was given primarily to a timely pamphlet by John Whipple, who refuted Jeremy Bentham's *Defence of Usury*. Whipple's essay became the classic American defense of the usury laws, and was reprinted during later periods of depression. Whipple warned that free trade in money would lead to extortion, and "if we do not in twenty years produce a revolution against property, then there is nothing in history and experience".[53] In 1840 the attack on the usury laws spread to Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, where it was argued that free trade in money was most needed in hard times in order to ease credit; otherwise the industrious person was driven to the usurer. Unfortunately, however, the

> [American community had] a strange and mawkish sensibility for every rogue who comes under the lash of the law . . . and for every debtor who is pressed for the performance of his promises. The ingenuity of the present time is exerted to prevent murderers and robbers from being made too

[50] *New Yorker*, June 17, 1837; Feb. 16, 1839; Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, Mar. 26, 1838; *Kendall's Expositor*, Mar. 17, 1841; *Journal of Commerce*, Apr. 25, 29, 1840; *Merchants' Magazine*, IV (Jan., June, 1841), 73, 544; *Constitutional Reform*, p. 13, McMaster, VII, 153.

[51] *Merchants' Magazine*, IV (Jan., 1841), 26 ff., 33.

[52] *Ibid.*, I (Dec., 1839), 501; XXXVII (Dec. 1857), 675; *New Yorker*, May 30, 1840; McMaster, VII, 48.

[53] *New Yorker*, Jan. 28, Apr. 1, 15, May 6, 1837; Leggett's *Writings*, II, 275; John Whipple, *Free Trade in Money* (New York, 1878), pp. 1, 14.

uncomfortable in their confinement; and to encourage debtors in a total and reckless disregard of their . . . engagements. . . .[54]

Not only genuine group needs but political partisanship as well waxed strong in this period of depression and exploited it in the strategy of campaigning. Already in 1838, a Whig journal, in reviewing the course of events since Jackson had announced he was leaving the people "prosperous and happy", reported gleefully the turn in both the economic and political tide. Elections were everywhere going against Van Buren. Only a complete change in the government could bring real relief, and with this sentiment the ground was prepared for the colorful and unprecedented campaign of 1840. In the Whig victory of this year, a contemporary writer believed that the most effective cause "has undoubtedly been the depressed prices of agricultural produce and labour". The promise of returning prosperity was heralded in the magic slogan of an election transparency:

> Little Van's policy, fifty cents a day and French soup;
> Harrison's policy, two dollars a day and roast beef.

Hope was also held out to those who still had "masses of property bought at speculative prices . . . through the process of a re-inflation of the bubble . . .". The administration, on the other hand, had spoken out "in accents of severity and rebuke . . . that they must resign themselves to their past losses. . . . Who can be surprised at the result?"[55] When prosperity did not come promptly, at the mere bidding of the Whigs, they were exposed in their turn to the taunt that the promised "better times" were actually "bitter times". Instead of roast beef and two-dollar wages, it was now only "ten cents a day and bean soup". A Democratic reaction was reported to have set in.[56]

In the campaign of 1840 the Whigs were charged with spending "fabulous" sums, supplied by the banks, and used in ways "such as history blushes to record". One of these uses was undoubtedly a deliberate effort to woo the laborer and mechanic with such pamphlets as "Facts for the Laboring Man. By a Laboring Man". It became the fashion to play the democrat, and even Webster, addressing merchants in Wall Street, was indignant that anyone should have called him an aristocrat. At Saratoga he boasted of the ancestral log cabin in New

[54] *Merchants' Magazine*, II (Jan., May, 1840), 30, 387 ff.; III (Aug., 1840), 120; *Journal of Commerce*, Jan. 13, 1840; Whipple, pp. xiv, 3.

[55] *Jeffersonian*, July 14, 21, Nov. 17, 1838; Greeley's *Recollections*, pp. 124 ff.; Hone's *Diary*, I, 493, 512; *U. S. Democratic Review*, VIII (Nov., 1840), 392.

[56] *Kendall's Expositor*, Oct. 6, 1841; McMaster, VII, 1; Greeley's *Recollections*, p. 160.

Hampshire and demanded the American standard for the laborer.[57] With some inconsistency, therefore, the same Whig pamphleteer who courted the laborer and debtor in his *Crisis of the Country,* also dragged the red herring of Jacobinism across the political trail in his *Sequel to the Crisis.* Already in 1838 Greeley had issued a warning against the recent increase of converts to "ultra radicalism", and he himself was soon to be won over to Albert Brisbane's version of Fourierism and social reform. In 1840, however, it was charged that not only had the administration nearly broken "the spirits of the most elastic and buoyant people on earth . . . but civilization itself . . . is to be broken down, and Christianity rooted from the land!"[58]

The provocation to this indictment came from an article in a current periodical which contained one of the earliest and most trenchant statements of the doctrine of class conflict ever made in this country. Its author, Brownson, whose tortuous career was to run from radicalism to reaction, later defended himself that, "born and reared in the class of proletaries", he had only said what he knew and felt, and would stand by it, "at least, until the laboring classes . . . rise up and accuse us of misrepresenting them". His purpose had been to explode certain American myths. One was that in America every man may become rich, but nobody has grown rich by his own labor. Somewhat prematurely, Brownson announced that "the wilderness has receded, and already the new lands are beyond the reach of the mere laborer, and the employer has him at his mercy". Precisely at this time George Evans was beginning his agrarian agitation for free land, which was to culminate in the Homestead Act. Brownson also insisted that to the worker bread was more important than Channing's program of education and moral elevation. "It is no pleasant thing to go seeking work and finding none . . .". Priests and pedagogues have had their chance and can do nothing. "They merely cry peace, peace, and that too when there is no peace, and can be none." The master too is "in these times . . . shedding crocodile tears over the deplorable condition of the poor laborer, while he docks his wages twenty-five per cent . . .". And so, finally, "You must abolish the system or accept its consequences".

[57] Benton's *View,* II, 205; *Arcturus,* I (Jan., 1841), 75 ff., *Scioto Gazette,* Sept. 20, 1838; A. B. Norton, *Reminiscences of the Log Cabin Campaign* (Mount Vernon, 1888), p. 322; *Mr. Webster's Speech at Saratoga* (Boston, 1840), pp. 3 ff.

[58] *New Yorker,* Oct. 6, 1838; Greeley's *Recollections,* p. 145; Sotheran, *Horace Greeley,* p. 121; Junius, *The Sequel to the Crisis* (New York, 1840), p. 1; Norton, p. 242. *Cf.* Greeley's plaint against the "Croaking Cosmopolites", always "sneering at the patriotic feeling of (Americans)", and predicting the "downfall of her institutions" (*New Yorker,* Feb. 15, 1840).

[But it will not be done] without war and bloodshed. We or our children will have to meet this crisis. The old war between the King and the Barons is well nigh ended, and so is that between the Barons and the Manufacturers . . . and now commences the new struggle between the operative and the employer, between wealth and labor. What or when the end will be only God knows.[59]

In a second article Brownson enlarged upon the idea of change by violence. While he hoped his prophecy might prove to be false, he, nevertheless, believed that

If a general war should now break out, it will involve all quarters of the globe, and it will be in the end more than a war between nations. It will resolve itself into a social war, a war between . . . the people and their masters. It will be a terrible war! Already does it lower on the horizon. . . . Stay it, ye who can.[60]

While less extreme, the Workingmen of Charlestown, Massachusetts, were addressing similar warnings "to their Brethren throughout the Union". Their distress was due to the paradox of an overproduction which forced their wages down. There was nothing to hope for from the politicians or the reformers. "Our salvation must . . . come from ourselves." The workers must organize and become a power in the state.[61] In this respect also Brownson offered the workers practical political advice. The election of 1840 had been a victory for property; the party of 'Man' could not prevail over property unless it took advantage of the division in the opposite camp. He, therefore, urged a political union of labor with the Slave South, on the basis of a strict constitutionalism. Now, more than ever, was the time to rally to the ultimate goal of abolishing the "proletaries" and establishing equality. Brownson censured "the laissez-faire doctrine, so much in vogue . . .". But the state, rather than the Federal government, must be relied upon to "maintain between all the members of society that equality . . . which does not exist among men by nature".[62]

The decade of the 1840's passed beyond such doctrines and eventually plunged into Utopian thought and experimentation. These included among others, agrarianism and Fourierism, as well as an elaborate, if embryonic, proposal for a kind of social planning, on a national scale, which the author, Clinton Roosevelt, presented as *The Science of Gov-*

[59] Commons, *History of Labour*, I, 522; *Boston Quarterly Review*, III (July and Oct., 1840), 362 ff., 460.

[60] *Boston Quarterly Review*, III, 508.

[61] *Ibid.*, IV (Jan., 1841), 119 ff.

[62] Brownson, *Our Future Policy*, pp. 10 ff.

ernment.[63] All these belong, of course, to another and a different theme, and yet cannot wholly be separated from the background of preceding depression. The latter had begun in 1837 when the pressure of an inflated prosperity proved too great, and certain strains and stresses developed in the American economic and social structure. The immediate and acute emergency created the need for repair work, which was supplied by a mass of relief legislation. But depression was also reflected in the thought and action of both classes and masses. It produced a harvest of ideas which seem not so much immature as premature, at least when a more normal state of social well-being was restored. They perhaps brought a forewarning of America's later ripening and aging. Certainly there was more romance than reality in the reminiscence of one who harked back to this very period as one "of innocence and integrity . . . and equality . . . when there were no millionaires and no Standard Oil or other combines. . . . When the rich helped the poor, and the poor helped the great." [64]

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[63] Byrdsall, p. 92; Clinton Roosevelt, *The Science of Government* (New York, 1841), *passim.*

[64] Norton, p. 15.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Recent Publications on Medieval and Modern Greek History, 1932–1935

Since my Note [1] on this subject in January, 1932, various books and articles dealing with it have been published. Steven Runciman has given "a general picture" of the Eastern Roman Empire in *Byzantine Civilisation* (New York, 1933), which has been translated into French, while the encyclopedic Professor N. Jorga has published a *Histoire de la vie byzantine: Empire et civilisation, d'après les sources, illustrée par des monnaies* in three volumes (Bucharest, 1934). This learned work contains a mass of information, but it fails to give us a "life" of the common people and shows signs of haste, especially in the part about Frankish Greece. That diligent author, Kostas Kairophylas, has combined in one volume his two contributions to the *National Encyclopedia* on "The French Duchy of Athens" and "After the Capture of Constantinople",[2] and has expanded the former into a monograph entitled the *History of Athens under the Byzantines and Franks, 330–1456* [3]—a popular Greek substitute for the work of Gregorovius. The eminent architect, Anastas. K. Orlandos, has compiled as the third part of the *Index of the Medieval Monuments of Greece*, a list of the *Medieval Monuments of the Plain of Athens and of the Slopes of Hymettos—Pentelikon, Parnes, and Aigaleos* (Athens, 1933), with 147 plates and a map.[4] Byzantine political history in the Peloponnese is represented by *Le despotat grec de Morée* of Denis A. Zakythinos (Paris, 1932). Georg Stadtmüller has written a biography of *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen, ca. 1138–ca. 1222* (Rome, 1934). There have been three very important contributions to the history of Crete under the Venetians. Thanks to the munificence of Madame Venizelos, the Academy of Athens has issued as the first volume of its *Memorials of Greek History*,[5] the *Acta et decreta majoris consilii Vene-*

[1] *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII, 272.

[2] Τὸ Γαλλικὸν Δουκᾶτον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν; Μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (Athens, 1932).

[3] Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς Βυζαντινοὺς καὶ τοὺς Φράγκους, 330–1456 (Athens, 1933).

[4] Μεσαιωνικὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Πεδιάδος τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῶν Κλιτύων Ὑμεττοῦ-Πεντελικοῦ, Πάρνηθος, καὶ Αἰγάλεω (Athens, 1933).

[5] Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας (Athens, 1932–1933).

tiarum res Creticas illustrantia, 1255–1669, collected and provided with an introduction by Count Spyridon M. Theotokes, keeper of the Corfiote archives. This first installment of his labors in Venice contains extracts from twenty-seven volumes of the decisions of the *Majus consilium.* The volume also includes the Βραχέα Χρονικά of the late Sp. Lampros, edited by Professor Konst. I. Amantos. Giuseppe Gerola has at last issued the fourth volume of his great work, *Monumenti Veneti dell' Isola di Creta* (Venice, 1932–1933), describing the hydraulic works, the heraldic monuments and inscriptions, while Agathangelos Xeronchakes, archimandrite of the Greek church in Vienna, has written a treatise about *The Venetian-governed East: Crete and the Seven Islands,*[6] which contains the Italian original of Garzoni's report of 1584 and Gritti's report on Corfu. A general work on *Crete during all its Struggles before the Great Turkish War, 1645–1669,* has been produced by Lieutenant Colonel Panagiotes K. Kriares.[7] Light is also thrown upon the history of the Ionian Islands under Venice by Marietta Minotto in her monograph, *La rebellion des Popolari: La première révolution sociale en Grèce,* in which she describes the Zantiote rebellion of 1628. G. K. Kordatos discusses from the standpoint of Marxist materialism the causes of the fall of Constantinople in his monograph, *The Last Years of the Byzantine Empire*;[8] and, on the literary side, the late E. Gerland, whose library, mainly relating to Venetian Crete, was bought by the Gennadeion Library in Athens, drew up a sketch of *Das Studium der byzantinischen Geschichte vom Humanismus bis zur Jetztzeit* (Athens, 1934).

Coming to the Turkish period, we find two books devoted to Chios. The former by a Jesuit, Giorgio Hofmann, is the first installment of a history of the Roman Catholic bishoprics of Greece—*Vescovadi cattolici della Grecia: I, Chios* (Rome, 1934), which narrates with documents the vicissitudes of Chiote Catholicism from 1566 to 1822. Philip P. Argenti, a member of a leading Chiote family, has published *The Expedition of the Florentines to Chios, 1599, described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports and Military Dispatches* (London, 1934), and has made three valuable contributions to the modern history of that island in his previous volumes, *The Massacres of Chios described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports* (London, 1932), *The Expedition of Colonel Fabvier to Chios described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports,* and *Chius Liberata, or*

[6] Ἡ Βενετοκρατωμένη Ἀνατολή: Κρήτη καὶ Ἑπτάνησος (Athens, 1934).

[7] Ἡ Κρήτη κατὰ τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ Μεγάλου Τουρκικοῦ Πολέμου Ἀγῶνας, 1645–1669 (Athens, 1933–1934).

[8] Τὰ Τελευταῖα Χρόνια τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας (Athens, 1932).

the Occupation of Chios by the Greeks in 1912 as described in Contemporary Documents, and Chios during the Great War (London, 1933). The last of these three contains an interesting letter from General Plastiras, one of the authors of the revolution of 1922, which for the second time dethroned Constantine, and the originator of the *coup d'état* of March 6, 1933. The history of few Greek islands is now so well known as that of Chios, whose sons combine the love of learning and the means of indulging or endowing it. Such were the Vlasto, connected with Crete and Chios, whose biography has been written by Kostas Kairophylas under the title of *Une famille patricienne crétoise: Les Vlasto* (New York, 1933). To the Turkish period also belong *The New Martyrs*[9] of the scholarly archbishop of Athens, Chrysostom Papadopoulos, who has described the heroic deaths of the ecclesiastics killed by the Turks between 1453 and the first third of the nineteenth century, while in a separate monograph he has treated of one of them, Dionysios, the metropolitan of Larissa, nicknamed "the dog-scholar", who took part in two insurrections against the Turks in Thessaly and Epiros at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but who has been calumniated by Maximos the Peloponnesian.[10] Kostas Kairophylas has written a life of *Ali Pasha as the Travelers saw him*.[11]

D. Gr. Kampouroglous, the eminent historian of Turkish Athens, has begun the publication of his *Collected Works*, the first installment of which is entitled *The Capture of Athens by the Saracens*. He considers that the supposed Turkish atrocities committed about 1456 were really the work of Saracen pirates in 896, and finds confirmation of this in two Arabic inscriptions and the coins discovered. He has also begun his *Memoirs:* he was born in 1852 on the day when one of the columns of the temple of Olympian Zeus fell.[12]

To the time of the War of Independence belongs *Piracy in the Levant, 1827–1828, selected from the Papers of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, K. C. B.*, published by the Navy Records Society (London, 1934) and compiled by Lieutenant Commander C. G. Pitcairn Jones, R. N. T. N. Pipineles,[13] an important official of the Greek foreign office, has described, under the title of *The Monarchy in Greece, 1833–*

[9] Οἱ Νεομάρτυρες (Athens, 1934).

[10] Διονύσιος ὁ Λαρίσσης, ὀνομαζόμενος "ὁ Σκυλόσοφος" (Athens, 1934).

[11] Ὁ Ἀλῆ Πασᾶς ὅπως τὸν εἶδαν οἱ Περιηγηταί.

[12] Ἅπαντα τὰ Ἔργα. Α΄. Ἡ Ἅλωσις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν. Pt. 1 (Athens, 1934.) Ἀπομνημονεύματα μιᾶς μακρᾶς ζωῆς. Pt. 1, 1852–1862 (Athens, 1934).

[13] Ἡ Μοναρχία ἐν Ἑλλάδι, 1833–1843 (Athens, 1932).

1843, the first ten years of Otho's reign, based upon researches in the foreign office archives. The author has a thesis to sustain—that at no other period of modern history was Greece so well governed, because the absence of a parliament left the Bavarian regents and the king a free hand. But there was even under this system of benevolent autocracy a press, consisting of four newspapers, which fomented political difficulties; nowadays Athens has twenty-one daily journals. K. Strupp has explained over a century of Greco-Turkish relations in *Die Beziehungen zwischen Griechenland und der Türkei von 1820–1930* (Breslau, 1932). The present writer, on the occasion of "The Centenary of Athens as Capital", which she became on December 1/13, 1834, published an article under that title,[14] comparing the Athens of 1834 with that of 1934. He also described one of the capital's most interesting modern acquisitions, "The 'Gennadeion': Dr. Gennadius' Monument at Athens",[15] on the occasion of the death of the donor of that fine library, which two successive American librarians, Scoggin and Lowe, have catalogued, and which is a storehouse of information about the modern history of Greece and the Near East in general. A valuable contribution to the period from the annexation of Thessaly in 1881 to the celebration of the Centenary of Greek Independence in 1930 is the *Supplement of the Fifth Illustrated Edition of 1925 of Const. Paparregopoulos' History of the Greek Nation,*[16] by the late Paulos Karolides. The difficulty of writing contemporary Greek history impartially is considerable for a Greek, for most Greeks are politicians, and in Greece politics are largely concerned with persons. But Karolides, a moderate royalist, who had sat in the Turkish parliament, kept his promise to the publisher to write objectively. It is on the social side that the book is lacking, and the author had Grote's defect of telling much of the story in the footnotes. Two notable volumes of memoirs illustrate this period. The late Sir Robert Graves, who, as a member of the British consular service, was in Crete during the high commissionership of Prince George, in Macedonia during the disputes over that debatable land, in Athens as one of the officials of the Refugees' Settlement Commission, and in Corfu at the time of the Italian bombardment, published in *Storm Centres of the Near East: Personal Memories, 1879–1929* (London, 1933), one of the most interesting books on that part of the world that has appeared in recent years. It possesses the merit rare

[14] *History, XIX* (Dec., 1934), 208–220.

[15] *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* LII (Jan., 1933), 297–302.

[16] Κωνστ. Παπαρρηγοπούλου Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων, μέχρι τοῦ 1930: Συμπλήρωμα τῆς πέμπτης Εἰκονογραφημένης Ἐκδόσεως, 1925 (Athens, 1932).

in Balkan books, that the author has no pet Balkan nationality, which alone can do no wrong. The second autobiographical work is the *Memoirs, 1896–1920* of General Leonidas I. Paraskeuopoulos,[17] of which only the first volume has appeared. The author writes authoritatively, because he commanded the Greek army from 1918 to 1920, and, unlike some soldiers, had the sense to keep out of politics, even when the dictator, Pangalos, offered him the premiership in 1926. But he deals with the political, as well as the military history of his time, and is fairly impartial, except when dealing with the Bulgarians. One race of Southeastern Europe can rarely be trusted to recognize the merits of another. Of still greater actuality is *La Grèce actuelle* (Athens, 1933), an account of Greece published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This official compilation contains a mass of information, but it presents a paper rather than a real Greece, and in the Near East statistics must be received with caution. A German revised version has been lately published. A very timely publication by the same ministry is one on the status of Greek women, who have now received the municipal franchise. The latest volumes of the *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898–1914,* Volume IX, Part I, *The Prelude; the Tripoli War,* Part II, *The League and Turkey* (London, 1933–1934) deal incidentally with the attitude of Greece toward Turkey and the other Balkan States before and during the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, while Captain Cyril Falls treats of the Greek position during part of the Great War in *Military Operations: Macedonia from the Outbreak of War to the Spring of* 1917 (London, 1933). The anonymous pamphlet *The Work of the Venizelos Government during the Four Years, 1928–1932* is rather in the nature of an election manifesto.[18] The present writer has endeavored to describe impartially the history of these last years in the "Appendix, 1927–1934", to his book *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors, 1801–1927* (3rd ed., with appendix, Cambridge, 1934), and in his articles on "The Greek Crisis", "The Greek Elections—and After", "The Balkan Pact",[19] and "The Greek Impasse".[20] The dean of the Law Faculty of the University of Salonika, Michel Dendias, has written on *La question cypriote aux points de vue historique et de droit international* (Paris, 1934). The ex-premier, A. P. Papanastasiou, has written *Vers l'union balkanique: Les conférences balkaniques* (Paris, 1934), of which conferences he was

[17] Ἀναμνήσεις, 1896–1920, Vol. I (Athens, 1933.)

[18] Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Κυβερνήσεως Βενιζέλου κατὰ τὴν Τετραετίαν, 1928–1932 (Athens, 1932).

[19] *The Contemporary Review* (July, 1932; April, 1933; May, 1934).

[20] *Foreign Affairs* (January, 1933).

the founder. He also inspires the review, *Les Balkans,* in which there are summaries of the political and economic history of each Balkan state. The monetary history of Greece from 1828 to 1932 has been recorded in a treatise by the Ministry of Finance, *The Greek Coins,*[21] coins which have been minted abroad since 1858.

Of recent bibliographical works may be noted the *Corfiote Bibliography, 1900–1930,* of D. P. Kalogeropoulos, who has also published a pamphlet on *American Philhellenes: a Short Biography of Samuel Howe,*[22] and the annual *Bibliographie balkanique* (Paris, 1933), of L. Savadjian. Numerous historical periodicals continue publication, but there are two drawbacks to their otherwise excellent work: the irregularity of their issue and the lack of teamwork. Two or three magazines deal with the same range of studies, because the saying of Hesiod is still true of Greeks, that two of a trade cannot work together. It is unfortunate that no fresh number of the *Journal of the Historical and Ethnological Society,* which lately celebrated its jubilee, has appeared during the period under review. But two new historical societies for the study of the Cyclades and the Ionian Islands have been founded, and the former announces an annual.[23]

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FALMOUTH AND THE SHENANDOAH: TRADE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

As early as 1761, merchants in eastern Virginia ports used the Lower Shenandoah Valley both as a market and a source for raw materials. The existence of this trade, about which little is known, is proved by the Allason manuscripts in the Virginia State Library at Richmond. This material consists of ledgers, letter books, invoices, and inventories, that

[21] Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ Νομίσματα (Athens, 1932).

[22] Κερκυραϊκὴ Βιβλιογραφία, 1900–1930 (Athens, 1935). Ἀμερικανικοὶ Φιλέλληνες: Σύντομος Βιογραφία τοῦ Σαμουὴλ Χαόου (Athens, 1935).

[23] Since the above was written Ivan Dujčev has published in his *Avoisi di Ragusa* (Rome, 1935) a number of documents which contain allusions to Greece during the Turkish period, especially to the War of Candia, of which there is a full bibliography. Dwight E. Lee has written on *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878* (Harvard, 1934), and I. Blachogiannes has published an iconoclastic work *The Klephts of the Morea* (Οἱ Κλέφτες τοῦ Μοριᾶ, Athens, 1935), to prove that there were no Klephts there between the Turkish reconquest in 1715 and Orloff's expedition in 1769, and that many of the Klephtic ballads were the artificial work of later hands. An English version of *La Grèce actuelle* is in preparation.

belonged to William Allason of Falmouth; and it shows that the Rappahannock port of Falmouth and the counties of the Lower Shenandoah Valley were bound together by commercial ties. It demonstrates, furthermore, that the trade enjoyed by the Allason firm was duplicated, either in greater or less degree, by other houses in Falmouth, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria; doubtless Colchester and Dumfries also enjoyed some of this business.[1]

The letters have been seen by historians, and have been used to a certain extent, but the ledgers and other papers furnish an unexplored treasure. The ledgers alone give a picture of life in the Shenandoah which is authentic and interesting. All of them, and in particular the index to the one covering the years 1769–1772 inclusive, note the occupations of the customers. In some instances also, genealogical information and the location of the customer's residence are recorded.

Since this Allason trade consisted, on the one hand, of articles purchased for consumption in the lower valley counties, it presents a clear idea of the necessities and luxuries of the Shenandoah citizens. On the other hand, the methods used by customers in making payment, and the amount of credit allowed by the firm, are illustrative of the business procedure between a large colonial merchant and smaller merchants, tavern keepers, planters, and wagoners. The entries on the credit side of the ledger represent commodities that were sent to Falmouth as payment on account, and are of great interest, since they show the productive resources of the lower valley counties.

Furthermore, if there were stronger commercial ties between the Tidewater and Lower Shenandoah sections of Virginia than have been realized previously, there may have been greater religious and social similarities than recognized heretofore. The emigrant, as well as the

[1] The Allason material, Virginia State Library, contains the following manuscripts: 8 daybooks, 6 books of invoices and inventories, 13 ledgers, 4 letter books, 2 Falmouth books, 6 Shenandoah books, 28 boxes of papers, letters, etc. All of these manuscripts are unedited except for some sixty-six letters and extracts of letters published in the *Richmond College Historical Papers*, vol. II, no. 1. This published group was used by Avery Odell Craven in his "Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606–1860", *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. XIII, no. 1. The letters of William Allason and the notebooks were used by Edith E. B. Thomson in her article, "A Scottish Merchant in Falmouth in the Eighteenth Century", *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXIX, 108–117, 230–238. In this historical account of the Allason firm, chief reliance is placed on descriptions made by William Allason in his letters to foreign correspondents. A brief description is given of the Allason business, and mention is made of the Shenandoah store opened by David Allason at Winchester, which lasted only three years. The author was not concerned with Zane's iron trade, and mentions the Shenandoah business very slightly.

wagon train, could have used the roadway over the Blue Ridge; and in his search for greater opportunities, he would have been attracted by the fertile Shenandoah lands. Perhaps there were more settlements made in the lower valley region by eastern Virginians than historians have been inclined to recognize.[2]

William Allason, a Scot formerly of Glasgow, organized and managed this Falmouth store in the decade and a half preceding the Revolution. The personnel of the firm changed from time to time, but during most of this period, his brothers, Robert Allason of Glasgow, and David Allason of Winchester and Falmouth, were members. It appears that finished goods were stocked at the Falmouth store, and sold to customers in both the eastern and valley sections of the colony. The goods came from Glasgow, London, Bristol, and Whitehaven.[3] The raw materials collected from customers, according to the letter books, were sent to British and West Indian houses to liquidate the firm's obligations to its foreign correspondents.

Collections from Shenandoah purchasers were made at Falmouth whenever possible, by means of cash, notes, or raw materials. At times a new order was declined unless a payment was made on account. It has been claimed that Peter Stephens had a town named for him, yet this leading Frederick County citizen was refused a shipment because payments had not been made with sufficient regularity.[4] If a customer failed to appear at the Falmouth store and was slow in reducing his indebtedness, then one of the Allasons might be expected to call on him at any moment. These visits were made to the Shenandoah as well as to the regions adjacent to Falmouth. At least one such visit was made to the lower Shenandoah during each of the years 1769, 1771, and 1772 respectively.[5]

William Allason's letters of reminder compose a large part of the firm's correspondence.[6] Credit was allowed for a period of twelve months without interest, but after that time had elapsed an interest

[2] This is being developed by the writer in his "Distribution of Population on the Virginia Frontier in 1775" (in preparation).

[3] Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 114–115, 230.

[4] Allason Letter Book, 1770–1789, p. 67. Kercheval states that Stephens City was named for Peter Stephens but this is disputed by T. K. Cartmell in his *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers* (Winchester, 1909), p. 228.

[5] Ledger, 1769–1772, p. 107, account of Philip Bush, credit side, item Dec. 12, 1769, and item June 18, 1772; p. 39, account of Dr. John Briscoe, on credit side, item July 9, 1771.

[6] Letter Book, 1770–1789, p. 45, example in letter to John Colson of Frederick. Colson's store was visited by Washington on one of his trips west.

charge was made.[7] In some instances the courts were resorted to in a last attempt to realize on bad accounts.

One of the ledgers, which covers the business done during the years 1769–1772 inclusive, is equipped with an excellent index, which contains an alphabetical list of the customers' names, and their places of residence. An examination of this index shows that the lower Shenandoah furnished the Allasons with a profitable market, and a fruitful source for raw materials. In a total of 802 customers listed, 119 are people assigned to Frederick County by the bookkeeper. They represent fifteen per cent of the whole number of customers.

It must be remembered that during the years covered by this particular ledger Frederick County occupied the entire lower valley of the Shenandoah. The formation of Berkeley and Dunmore counties was not authorized until February, 1772,[8] and they were not organized for some months after that date. Today, this very large territory is occupied by the modern Virginia counties of Frederick, Clarke, Warren, Shenandoah, and about two thirds of Page, together with the modern West Virginia counties of Berkeley, Jefferson, and Morgan.[9]

The ledger sheets devoted to Frederick customers show us the wide range of their purchases. John Briscoe of Frederick, merchant, procured only two necessities, but they were both important. On November 17, 1770, he secured "1 large dutch Beam with ropes and Scales, etc", and a half barrel of gunpowder. The first item was expensive, costing more than £15.[10]

Samuel Blackburn of Frederick was a buyer of necessities of a more conglomerate character. His account shows purchases of saddles, bridles, lancets, a grindstone, striped blankets, spirits of turpentine, a barrel of tar, and nails. In the way of food and drink he bought several barrels of salt, a quantity of brown sugar, both plain rum and West India rum, tea, and pepper. Other charges, termed by the Allasons "sundry", covered the following articles: men's hats, white thread no. 16, black ribbon, repairs on a wig, and five hundred pins. Another citizen of Frederick, Thomas Blackmore, purchased, among other things, two linen hand looms, twenty yards of cotton, three pairs of shoe buckles, and two spelling books.[11]

[7] William Allason to William Howard, Letter Book, 1770–1789, p. 34.

[8] Hening's *Statutes*, VIII, 597.

[9] Morgan Poitiaux Robinson, "Virginia Counties", *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library*, IX, 168.

[10] Ledger, 1769–1772, p. 39.

[11] Ledger, 1769–1772, pp. 139, 140.

Lewis Bense of "Massanutten, Frederick County", had different needs, and his account varied from the others cited in that the firm made few collections from him. Among his purchases, during the year 1771, were a pewter basin and six plates, a stone jug, an iron pot, a penknife, and a pound of ginger.[12]

Philip Bush of Winchester was the well-known proprietor of the "Golden Buck", a tavern which was once the political headquarters and lodging place of George Washington.[13] We find among the other purchases listed on his ledger sheet, the following "staples": one cask and ten gallons of "Geneva", three quarter casks and one pipe of "Teneriff wine", green tea and canisters, "fine Hyson tea" and canisters, "Bohea tea", cloves, cinnamon, six bottles of Weston's snuff, two reams of writing paper, two papers of ink powder, one pair of brooms, one scrubbing brush, and two shoe brushes.[14]

Still other articles were sold to Benjamin Berry, jr., as follows: a hog-skin saddle and bridle, a yard of swanskin, seven yards of "oznabrigs", twelve pairs of plaid stockings, an ivory comb, a snuff box, molasses, powder, and shot. There is another item on this account which is of interest; he was charged slightly more than a pound for what had been previously paid "to John Day for making clothes".[15] It would appear from this item that Falmouth possessed a tailor.

On the credit side of the ledger we do not find such a large variety of items as those mentioned above. A few of the purchasers could make cash payments. John Briscoe, the Frederick merchant who bought the

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[13] John C. Fitzpatrick, *George Washington, Colonial Traveller* (Indianapolis, 1927), pp. 155, 287.

[14] Ledger, 1769–1772, p. 107. Geneva corresponds to modern gin. In Holland it was a spirit, which was distilled from grain flavored with juniper berries, sometimes called Holland's Geneva. In eighteenth century Britain a substitute was used for the berries. Since Teneriffe is the largest island of the Canaries, the wine so designated was Canary. On September 23, 1770, Allason wrote to Bush: "I have no other wine but Teneriff which I think is good of its kind"; see Letter Book, 1770–1789, p. 10. Young Hyson is a fine green tea. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Bohea was the name given to the finest kinds of black tea, but it was becoming more common by the time of the American Revolution. The quality now known as Bohea is the lowest (Murray, *New English Dictionary*, and see quotation from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1773).

[15] Ledger, 1769–1772, p. 93. Swanskin was a fine thick kind of flannel, sometimes used for blankets, so called because of its unusual whiteness. Sometimes the Allason bookkeeper wrote "oznabrigs" "Osnaburg". It was a kind of coarse linen, originally made in Osnabrück, a town and district in North Germany noted for its manufacture of linen. This linen was used in the British colonies of North America in the making of shirts, jackets, and trousers.

beam and scales was able to pay his account in cash, although these payments were spread over two years.[16]

Philip Bush paid a portion in cash and the balance in other ways. On June 8, 1771, he came to Falmouth, visited the Allason store, and paid William Allason thirty silver dollars, for which he was credited with £9. David Allason was in Winchester on June 18, 1772, and succeeded in collecting £6 in cash, and a note held by Bush against Dr. James Craik of Port Tobacco, Maryland, for £55. This more than canceled the Bush indebtedness; in fact, he had achieved the rare distinction of securing a credit balance on the firm's books.[17]

Most of the Shenandoah customers were either unable, or unwilling, to make large cash payments, while many of them could make no cash payments whatsoever. Since the firm wanted to sell goods to these people, Shenandoah produce was accepted. Flour, tobacco, hemp, flax, and various less important commodities were received at the Falmouth store.

On February 28, 1761, William Allason offered to accept both flour and tub butter from John Briscoe of Frederick. And on the same day he made the same statement with regard to flour to "Mr. Heath of Winchester".[18] Ten years after these letters were written, Allason had managed to establish himself as a large buyer of valley flour. This is shown by the many Shenandoah accounts where shipments of flour were credited, and by his letter to Alexander White of Frederick, in which he stated that he was in position to take flour "on the same terms anyone else will who furnishes goods at the same advance as I do".[19]

Lewis Bense of "Massanutten, Frederick County", made one of his small and infrequent payments on account in 1769, when butter and cheese were sent to Falmouth. Two years later he made a more substantial payment by sending six barrels of flour.[20] Samuel Blackburn was a larger shipper of flour from Frederick to Falmouth, during the years 1770 and 1771; but he sent forward in addition a quantity of beeswax and received credit for it.[21]

During the year 1771, William Allason agreed to take 200 gallons of

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 107. On the same page a new account was opened for "Dr. James Craik, Port Tobacco, Maryland". On the debit side of this account the bookkeeper wrote: "To Philip Bush for your note of hand date 29th Nov. 1770 one half due 29th Nov. 1771 and other half due Nov. 1772."

[18] Letter Book, 1757–1770, p. 75.

[19] *Ibid.*, 1770–1789, p. 9.

[20] Ledger, 1769–1772, p. 113.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 139. Flour was sent as follows: 10 bbs. valued £13, sent May 25, 1770; 11 bbs. valued slightly over £15, sent May 2, 1771.

linseed oil from William Kelp of Frederick. In the same letter he promised to send in return the iron that was needed for Kelp's wagon, and various other goods.[22] Another ledger sheet, which is interesting in this connection, shows that William Allason accepted hemp from citizens of the lower Shenandoah. On October 19, 1769, he credited the account of Benjamin Berry of Frederick with £35 to cover hemp forwarded to Falmouth. Robert Broomfield was another purchaser who paid for some of his goods by sending hemp over the mountains to the Allasons.[23]

These ledgers indicate that the staple crop of Virginia was extensively cultivated in the lower Shenandoah. The tobacco of the debtor was taken and credited on account, but it appears that a "balance due" remained after the receipt of this product. Any exception to this rule would be difficult to find.

Thomas Blakemore of Frederick received £28 16*s*. for his crop of tobacco on August 6, 1771, and the unfavorable balance remaining after this credit totaled only £2 2*s*. During the following year, his crop arrived at Falmouth in two lots. One brought £19 10*s*. while the other brought £19 12*s*. But something had happened to the Blakemore standard of living during the year, for although the 1772 crop brought about the same credit, the "balance due" had reached the much larger figure of £28 10*s*.[24]

Joseph Baker lived near Isaac Hite's plantation in what is now Shenandoah County. He bought a large number of things from the Allasons, such as broadcloth, Irish linen, hand woven linen, and a "Leghorn hat". He made payment on this account by sending his crop of tobacco. James Barkley at Robert Page's plantation in Frederick, and one "Lewis Bernard, a Frenchman",[25] together with many others sent tobacco from the Shenandoah to the Allasons at Falmouth.

When William Allason wrote to William Howard of Frederick about his account of long standing, which had been the subject of previous correspondence, he stated that he would accept the tobacco crop even though it had been sent to Alexandria. He stipulated, however, that this was an unusual procedure to which he was a party solely be-

[22] Letter Book, 1770–1789, p. 63. Linseed oil is made from flax seed, therefore it would appear that flax was raised in the lower valley.

[23] Ledger, 1769–1772, pp. 93, 178.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[25] *Ibid.*, 1769–1772, pp. 132, 201, 208, 255. Among the other purchases from the Allasons were pewter basins, pewter plates, pewter dishes, felt hats. Bernard's name is listed this way on pages 132, 255.

cause of the necessity for reducing the indebtedness.[26] This simple statement is indicative of the fact that Alexandria merchants were engaged in the Shenandoah trade, but that the Allasons were determined to confine themselves, as much as possible, to produce delivered at Falmouth.

The letter books have many passages that illuminate the methods used by Isaac Zane in marketing the product of his Frederick iron works. Philip Fithian, the missionary preacher, has indelibly described Isaac Zane as a burgess, a man of first rank, both in property and office, the possessor of the "Malbrow Iron-Works", and of several plantations with negro slaves; but, in addition, the keeper of a confessed mistress.[27] Zane was able to market his iron by sending it to William Allason of Falmouth or to other merchants. With the aid rendered by these middle men, he was speeded in his progress toward prominence and in the gaining of his various possessions.

In his letter book covering the years 1770–1789 inclusive, William Allason has acknowledged the receipt of several wagon loads of iron from Zane. On September 6, 1770, for instance, 2249 weight of bar iron was received, and two loads came in on September 22, of 2606 and 2265 weight respectively. In this same letter William Allason stated that he would like to ship forty-five tons "in a few days for London and Glasgow", but did not have enough iron to do this. He received other lots from Zane but was never satisfied with the amount sent from the Shenandoah. On September 22, 1771, he wrote Zane that he could ship more Marlboro iron to Bristol but did not have it on hand in his Falmouth store.[28]

It appears that this shortage was due to Zane's deliveries to Allason's competitors. The promising citizen of Frederick was not reducing his indebtedness to the Allason firm. A significant passage is found in the letter from William Allason to Zane, written on January 7, 1771, which reads as follows: "I have had none of your favors for some time tho I have observed sundry waggons that came from your forge with iron to my neighbors. . . ."[29] We may suppose that Allason's rivals were accepting other products, as well as iron, from the lower Shenandoah in return for goods.

It is obvious from what has been written that wagons were active in this trade between Falmouth and the lower valley. Some of the larger

[26] Letter Book, 1770–1789, p. 34.

[27] Robert Greenhalgh Albion and Leonidas Dodson, eds., *Philip Vickers Fithian: Journal, 1775-1776* (Princeton, 1934), pp. 14–15.

[28] Letter Book, 1770–1789, pp. 5, 10, 106. [29] *Ibid.*, 1770–1789, p. 43.

planters had their own wagons with hired men to run them. Thomas Barbey was a wagoner for Colonel Thomas Bryan Martin of Greenway Court, Frederick County;[30] and the presence of Barbey's name on the Allason books is explained, perhaps, by the importance of his employer. "John Ball the millwright" of Frederick, had a wagon that was used in transporting his products between the Shenandoah and Falmouth.[31] Peter Stephens of Frederick had a wagon which called at the Allason store for goods.[32]

Certain wagons were owned and operated by professional wagoners, although the owners were engaged in other businesses at times. Andrew Boyd is listed in the ledger as a wagoner from Frederick, and William Broomfield seems to have been active in this business.[33] William Calmes was paid more than six pounds for hauling tobacco from Frederick to Falmouth.[34] Andrew Kizer was another wagoner who carried goods between the Allason store and Frederick.[35] These individuals are easily located, for the bookkeeper has listed their occupations beside their names.

The most famous of the wagoners from Frederick has his name recorded on the ledger sheets of the Allason firm's "Shenandoah Books", as well as on the pages of Revolutionary history. Daniel Morgan was a customer of the Shenandoah store, but the ledger indicates that this future general was not noticeably prompt in making payment.[36]

The lower valley region was quite accessible to the eastern merchant and to any traveler who was able to use the roads in eastern Virginia. It is likely that the wagoners used the main road to the lower Shenandoah, which went through the Blue Ridge Mountains at Ashby's Gap. This road is clearly shown on the revised Fry and Jefferson map made by Dalrymple in 1755, who estimated the distance between Falmouth and Winchester at about eighty miles. Washington took this route in 1758 when he went from the Shenandoah to the provincial capital at Williamsburg, by way of Falmouth. He was able to travel rapidly, going in one

[30] Ledger, 1769–1772, p. 220. Barbey made cash payments.

[31] Letter Book, 1770–1789, p. 58; in the Ledger, 1769–1772, John Ball is listed as a millwright from Frederick.

[32] Letter Book, 1770–1789, p. 67.

[33] Ledger, 1769–1772, pp. 109, 205, and index.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 140, see account of Thomas Blakemore.

[35] Letter Book, 1770–1789, p. 10, letter to Philip Bush, Sept. 23, 1770; also p. 76, letter to Warriner Washington, Esq. of Frederick.

[36] Six small account books, in the Allason material, are each labeled "Shenandoah Book". Daniel Morgan has several sheets devoted to him.

A MAP of the most inhabited part of VIRGINIA
containing the whole PROVINCE of MARYLAND
with part of PENSILVANIA, NEW JERSEY and NORTH CAROLINA.
Drawn by Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson in 1751
J. Dalrymple edition of 1755.

day's time from Winchester over the Blue Ridge to Hardin's Ordinary, a distance of over sixty miles.[37]

The large number of ordinaries along the way indicate that it was used extensively by the traveling and carrying trade, since the taverns could not have existed without patronage. After leaving Falmouth the traveler, or wagoner, would find, in the order named, the ordinaries of Pickett, Hardin, Nevill, and Watts, later called the Ashby House. These were situated at convenient intervals between Falmouth and the Blue Ridge.[38] After crossing the Blue Ridge at Ashby's Gap, and the Shenandoah at Ashby's Ferry, one of two alternative routes to Winchester could be chosen; either the direct road or the one by way of Lord Fairfax's Greenway Court.

Even in Dalrymple's day, this route was not a new one. The portion of the road west of Ashby's Gap had been "laid down" as early as 1743, which was before the establishment of Frederick County; and had been improved before 1748. By 1775 it was a well-traveled route and compared favorably with the roadways in eastern Virginia.[39]

In this article we have indicated only a few of the possibilities that may be opened by this Allason material. Although the genealogists have made use of the ledgers, others have hardly touched them. Few historians have seen these illuminating and interesting manuscripts, which can furnish important source material for the economic, social, and political life of the colony and state.

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[37] For the route taken by Washington, see Fitzpatrick, p. 119. For the Dalrymple map, see Library of Congress, Map Division, copy, a section of which showing the road is here reproduced. Dalrymple traveled over this and other routes through the Blue Ridge, and as a result of his travels he made a chart of distances, which is found on the map. He shows that the distance between Fredericksburg and Winchester was eighty-four miles. There are figures along the roadway, as it is traced on the map, much in the manner of a modern road map; from these we gather that Fredericksburg and Hardin's were twenty-five miles apart. Falmouth was, of course, just across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg, on the side nearer Hardin's.

[38] Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William* (Privately printed, 1924), II, 489–493.

[39] Order Book No. 1, Frederick County Records (MSS.), at Frederick Court House, Winchester, Va., p. 15; see reference to action of Orange County Court on p. 16. Hening's *Statutes*, VI, 210, gives title of an act to clear the portion of this road which was east of the Blue Ridge, the Frederick portion having been cleared previously. Harrison, *Landmarks*, II, 471–472.

DOCUMENTS

A Pan-Slavist Memorandum of Liudevit Gaj in 1838[1]

THE Illyrian renascence, the romantic *Sturm und Drang* of Croat nationalism, developed tumultuously between 1835 and 1848, under the leadership of Liudevit Gaj. One of the chief perplexities of the movement lay in its relation to Russia. A disciple of Kollar, the author of the Pan-Slavist *Slavy Dcera,*[2] Liudevit Gaj turned early to Russia for inspiration and assistance. The idea of the "mutuality" of the four great branches of the Slavs was deeply implanted in his poetic imagination. The opposition of influential Serb groups to the Illyrian movement led him to look for support from Russia as protector of the Serbian principality.[3] Finally, the poverty of his own people forced him in 1838 to appeal to Nicholas I for assistance in continuing his mission.

In September, 1838, Gaj was presented in Berlin to Count Benkendorf, intimate of the czar and powerful head of the Russian secret service. Gaj addressed to Nicholas a memorandum describing the efforts of the Illyrians to defend themselves against Magyarization, and to develop their own national consciousness. In 1839 he sent a supporter, Herkalović, to St. Petersburg, but the latter was turned away.[4] In 1840 Gaj finally made the journey to Russia. In passing through Warsaw he again interviewed Benkendorf, and was asked to proceed to the capital, there to explain his mission.[5] In Petersburg Gaj attended a special session of the Russian Imperial Academy, which granted him a subsidy of five thousand rubles. In Moscow he was welcomed by Professor Pogodin, chief of the Slavophils. Assistance amounting to 17,500 or 20,000 rubles was collected. His return visit to Petersburg, however, offered Gaj even less

[1] From the Archive of Foreign Policy, Moscow; f. 319, dated Vienna, 1838, pp. 20–26. The liberality of the Central Archive Administration of the R. S. F. S. R. enabled the author to consult the materials of the Archive of Foreign Policy. The grant of the Archibald Cary Coolidge Fellowship by Harvard University for 1930–1931 made possible the work in Moscow.

[2] Alfred Fischel, *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 115.

[3] Platon A. Kulakovskii, *Illirizm: Izsledovanie po istorii horvatskoi literatury perioda vozrozhdeniya* (Warsaw, 1894), pp. 235–236.

[4] Kulakovskii, p. 289.

[5] Vl. Francev, "Za biografiju Ļudevita Gaja", *Građa za povijest književnosti hrvatske* [Jugoslav. Akademija] (Zagreb, 1907), no. 5, pp. 142–147.

satisfaction than his first. Benkendorf now refused to have anything to do with his proposals.[6]

Gaj's Russian wooing was pursued by means of extravagant promises, sufficient in themselves to alarm the government of Nicholas I. For instance, he claimed that the younger Catholic clergy of Croatia was swinging toward the Orthodox Church as the life-center of Slav nationalism. Such fantastic notions were scarcely borne out by Gaj's own conduct. At home, he was alert to avoid arousing the suspicion of the Catholic hierarchy. Out of deference for the clergy he objected to a public reception in Zagreb for Kollar, a Protestant. He agreed with the Croatian bishops in rejecting the proposal of the Hungarian Diet that Protestants be allowed to acquire land in Croatia.[7] In holding a precarious balance between Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs, Gaj always insisted that he had no desire to carry on any religious propaganda whatsoever.

Two of Gaj's Russian memoranda are known. Both date from 1840. One, entitled *Secreta arcana,* summarizes Gaj's work of national awakening. According to it, the greater part of the patriots and of the younger clergy has begun to regard the Orthodox Church as the genuinely national, Slav church. Gaj has aroused great enthusiasm for the Cyrillic alphabet, even in the Catholic seminaries. His organic orthography is intended to serve as a bridge for the Latin writing Illyrians to the pure "Slav" alphabet. The second memorandum, of July, 1840, is addressed to Count Benkendorf. It describes the enthusiasm which Gaj has aroused in Illyria for Russia and for Nicholas I, his great personal sacrifices, and the necessity for Russian support unless his newspaper and periodical are to fall into hands hostile to Russia. It reminds Benkendorf of his two petitions for Russian assistance in 1838. One of these was presented to Benkendorf in Berlin, in September, 1838. The other, by far the most significant of his notes, was forwarded to Petersburg in November, 1838, by Colonel Ozeretskovskii, Benkendorf's agent in Vienna. This latter memorandum, hitherto unprinted, reproduced below, sheds an entirely new light on Gaj's political outlook and plans in these critical years of the Illyrian movement.

In the memorandum Gaj describes the natural yearning of the Slavs for union with Russia. In striving to crush the Illyrian movement, the

[6] Nikolai Barsukov, *Zhizn' i trudy M. P. Pogodina* (St. Petersburg, 1890), V, 444–448; Homyakov, in *Russkii Arkhiv,* 1884, no. 5, p. 204, says 20,000; Hermann Wendel, *Der Kampf der Südslawen um Freiheit und Einheit* (Frankfurt, 1925), p. 207, says 15,000; Fischel, p. 187, says 17,500; see also *supra,* n. 5.

[7] Kulakovskii, pp. 232, 286, 683–686.

Magyars are attempting to overcome that force of attraction, to amalgamate the Slavs into a Hungarian state strong enough to dominate Austria or else to break away and make common cause with the Poles against Russia. Gaj proposes Russian help in forming a "focus", made up of Bosnia, Turkish Croatia, Herzegovina, and Albania. He must be supplied with three million Austrian gulden in order to raise the necessary force. The number of fighters available will depend on the amount of money at his disposal. If the imminent war between Russia and England should break out, the first shot fired would be the signal for a general insurrection. Should Austria threaten to intervene, Gaj will turn the greater part of her army to Russia. In any case, Russia should set up a secret agency in Croatia, to protect pro-Russian elements and to influence literature in favor of Pan-Slavism.

The Pan-Slavism of Gaj's stormy youth must be accepted as a genuine urge on his part. To link his own rising nationalism to Russia he was ready to run serious risk. On the other hand, the claim advanced by Kossuth and other Magyars that Russia stimulated the Illyrian movement in order to weaken Hungary must be rejected.[8] One other question arises inevitably. Was Gaj's devotion to Russia sincere? In 1836 he had stressed to the Austrian government the importance of attracting the Slavs of Turkey and Serbia by means of the Illyrian movement.[9] In 1839 he received from Emperor Ferdinand a ring, of which he was naïvely proud.[10] Gaj never tired of proclaiming his own fidelity and

[8] Fischel (p. 146) believed that Gaj's friendship with Kollar, Šafárik, Vuk Karadjic, and his frequent journeys to Slav centers justified the suspicions of the Austrian police, but concluded that "Gaj's activity remained, as far as can be seen, within the limits of legality". M. Horváth, *Huszonöt év*, I, 523 (quoted by C. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen, *The Political Evolution of the Hungarian Nation*, London, 1908, I, 321, n. 2), accused Gaj of working for the union of the South Slavs under a Russian protectorate. Kossuth accused Russia and Austria of co-operation in stimulating the Illyrian agitation, in order to destroy Hungary's resistance to Hofburg absolutism (Ludwig Kossuth, *Meine Schriften aus der Emigration*, Pressburg, 1880, II, 169). M. J. Boldényi, in *Le magyarisme ou la guerre des nationalités en Hongrie* (Paris, 1850, p. 52), linked Gaj with "that Austrian party which had to beg on bended knees for Russia's protectorate. According to Horn (G. Horn, *Le compromis de 1868 entre la Hongrie et la Croatie et celui de 1867 entre l'Autriche et la Hongrie*, Paris, 1907, p. 121), on the other hand, the Magyars "labelled their opponents with the senseless epithet of Pan-Slavists". Bidermann (Herm. Ign. Bidermann, *Russische Umtriebe in Ungarn: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Österreichs wie Russlands*, Innsbruck, 1867, p. 59) regarded the Pan-Slavism of the Croats as harmless. Hermann Wendel, the most recent commentator (pp. 207–208), likewise tends to discount Gaj's political sympathies for Russia.

[9] "Pisma pisana Dru. Ljudevitu Gaju", *Građa za povijest književnosti hrvatske* (Zagreb, 1909), no. 6, p. 345; Wendel, p. 207; Fischel, p. 135.

[10] Kulakovskii, p. 286.

that of the Illyrians to Austria. The question of his good faith toward Russia should, however, be answered in his favor. The special care with which his memorandum was preserved in the Russian archives, his own plea for secrecy, point to his sincerity. His memorandum, on the other hand, displays a phenomenally provincial ignorance of the true currents of Russian foreign policy in that period. Nicholas I, the champion of absolutism and legitimacy, was to promote wholesale rebellion against his ally, the sultan of Turkey. This was to be organized by conspiracy with the subjects of his other ally, the emperor of Austria. The new Eastern crisis which was maturing in 1838 was to revolutionize the northwest of the Balkan peninsula. Nicholas's own hope was to come through the crisis without a general war. Under these circumstances Gaj's program could not find acceptance with Nicholas.

By 1842 this first and rudimentary phase of Pan-Slav enthusiasm came to a close. Pogodin's 1840 report on the western and southern Slavs had been read by Nicholas I "with pleasure". His 1842 report was received ungraciously, and Pogodin was warned against further expression of sympathy for the South Slavs in his *Moskvityanin*. Šafárik, in Prague, was obliged, for dread of the Austrian police, to beseech Pogodin never again to refer to him in any writings on the Slavs.[11] The use of the terms *Illyria* and *Illyrian* was now forbidden in Croatia, and the Zagreb censorship confided to a pro-Magyar.[12] Gaj had grounds for attributing these persecutions to Russian intrigue. In Vienna the Russian government was accused of having instigated the Turkish government to demand the suppression of the Illyrian agitation.[13] Nesselrode is supposed to have warned Metternich as early as June, 1840, against the Illyrians' revolutionary tendencies.[14] In December, 1842, in answer to Metternich's expressed apprehensions over alleged Russian support for the Illyrian movement, Nicholas denied the slightest desire on his part to encourage the Croat nationalist party.[15] In any case, after 1842 Gaj and his adherents strove continually to demonstrate their loyalty to the Austrian government, thus to win back the relative freedom enjoyed prior to the disturbances of that year. The Croat movement, forced to the defensive, abandoned its youthful enthusiasm for Russia. Nicholas I, instinctively recognizing the incompatibility of its

11 Barsukov, V, 330–345; VI, 392, 393; VII, 62–71.

12 Kulakovskii, p. 177.

13 "Pisma pisana Dru. Ļudevitu Gaju", *op. cit.*, p. 327.

14 Fischel, p. 139.

15 F. Martens, *Recueil des traités conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances étrangères*, vol. IV, pt. 1, pp. 501–502.

national and democratic idealism with his own autocratic regime, turned away from Liudevit Gaj and the half-shaped forces which he led.

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MEMORANDUM OF LIUDEVIT GAJ

Das politisch nationale Interesse aller slavischen Völker kann und muss mit jenem Russlands nur *ein und dasselbe* sein, jedes andere mit diesem Interesse unvereinbare Streben ist antislavisch, ist ein Verrath an der eigenen Nation, ist ein moralischer Selbstmord, ist daher ein Verbrechen, das früher oder später in fremden Fesseln gebüsst werden muss.

Wir Slaven haben unbewusst unserer Überzahl in Europa so lange nichts, oder wenigstens nicht viel bedeutet, bis nicht Russland den grösseren Theil unserer Kräfte zu einer politischen Macht vereinigend, als würdiger Repräsentant der grössten Nation auf der Weltbühne mit jugendlicher Riesenkraft auftrat, und den tausendjährigen Unterdrücker unserer Nationalität Respect einflösste.

Wenn wir dem *feindseligen Prinzip Europas,* welches schon in den ältesten Zeiten die grössten Slavischen Reiche zertrümmerte, und in unserer Zeit, durch Russlands Grösse neuerdings geweckt, *mehr als je,* selbst in den entferntesten Himmelsstrichen gegen Alles, was Slavisch ist, zerstörend intriguiert, kraftvoll widerstehen und eine unserer Nation würdige Stellung behaupten wollen; so müssen unsere Stämme mit Aufopferung aller Separat-Interessen und mit Unterdrückung aller Parteiungen zu der bereits *festbegründeten* Central-Macht streben und sich mit einer dem slavischen Gemüth allein entsprechenden kindlichen Hingebung um Einen Vater, der allein sie zu beglücken vermag, Hand in Hand gruppiren.

Wer diese grossartige Centralisirung des gesamten Slaventhums um Einen Herrscher für eine unpraktikable Idee hält, kennt nicht die Ursachen der Melancholie, die sich im Leben und Liede aller Stämme kundgibt, welche so vielmal an der Ausführung derselben, zu der sie, vermög ihrer patriarchalischen Gemüthsart, von Natur aus bestimmt sind, theils gewaltsam, theils durch Einimpfung fremdartiger Grundsätze, gehindert wurden; der kennt nicht das de facto in den rein ilirisch-slavischen Provinzen bestehende ächt nationale Familienleben im Grossen, wo um seine Gospodar, oft mehr als 160 Familienglieder in Eintracht und kindlichem Gehorsam versammelt leben,—was dem heutigen Westeuropa fremd ist.

Die nichtslavischen Völkerschaften, denen die Möglichkeit, dass sich die gestreuten Glieder der Grossen Slavenfamilie unter dem väterlichen Oberhaupte Russlands vereinigen könnten, wie ein Schreckbild entgegensteht, sind öffentlich und insgeheim bemüht der Verwirklichung dieser Naturgemässen Idee, alle nur denkbaren Hindernisse in den Weg zu legen. Indem sie unter unseren Stämmen Hass und Zwietracht säen, begegnen sie nur jenen Slaven mit erheuchelter Freundlichkeit, die sich durch Antagonie gegen Russland um ihre schlauen Anschläge bewusst oder unbewusst gleichsam verdienstlich machen.

In diesem Geiste der uns . . . (one word missing) Opposition strengen sie sich rastlos an, den ohnedies verblendeten und dem wahren Interesse entfremdeten Stamm an der Weichsel in der Anti-slavischen Tendenz zu

nähren, um ihn zu abermaligen, wenn auch nicht entscheidenden, doch immerhin im Gefolge anderer Weltereignisse, für das Slaventhum gefährlichen Bewegungen zu missbrauchen.

Jetzt ist der *Moment,* wo auch Russland entscheiden kann, ob auch die ilirisch-slavischen Provinzen für eine verhängnissvolle Zeit eine gefährliche Waffe fremder Intriguen und etwa ein den Polen ähnlicher Spielball;—oder ein russisch-slavisches Bollwerk gegen fremdliche Agitationen, an der dem Westen leicht zugänglichen adriatischen Küste, werden sollen. Ein Moment, der umsomehr beachtet zu werden verdient, da die über einen bedeutenden Theil der ilirischen Slaven mittelbar dominirenden Magyaren bei ihrer steigenden Überspannung im Andrange kritischer Verhältnisse augenblicklich bereit wären, mit den Polen gemeinschaftliche Sache zu machen.

Der Magyarismus in Ungarn ist wie eine Seuche ansteckend, denn er verzehrt zunächst in den zahlreichen durch viele Vorrechte und grossen Reichthum zu nachdrücklichen Unternehmungen qualificirten Adel und in dem über allem Masse reich dotirten Catholischen Clerus. Es schliessen sich daher immerfort deutsche, walachische, am zahlreichsten aber slavische Renegaten an diese Hydra an. Hier wären um so gefährlichere Folgen zu befürchten, da es bekannt ist, dass die Magyaren uralten, instinktmässigen Groll gegen Russland, so wie hingegen ihre Sympathie für Polen schon so oft, namentlich aber in der letzten Revolution, auch die kroatisch-slavonischen Edelleute mit sich fortreissend, durch Thatsachen bewiesen haben.

Und eben diese Magyaren, die schon vor Tausend Jahren uns Südslaven von unseren nordöstlichen Ländern gewaltsam trennten, später durch Herbeirufung der Türken langwieriges Elend über uns ausgeschüttet haben, trachten in der Gegenwart durch zwangvolle *Magyarisirung,* der unter der ungarischen Krone stehenden zahlreichen Slaven, ein grosses Magyarisches Amalgam, so schnell als möglich zu gestalten, um sich sodann in angewachsener Masse, einerseits durch ihre erkünstelte Präponderanz, nach Massgabe der Umstände, entweder des österreichischen Staates zu bemächtigen, oder von demselben loszureissen; andererseits aber, die, nach angeblichen alten Prätensionen zur ungarischen Krone gehören sollenden ilirisch-türkischen Provinzen, Bosnien, Türkisch-Croatien, Hercegovina, Serbien und Bulgarien, derselben wieder einzuverleiben, um so ihrer vermeintlichen politischen Bestimmung gemäss, im Sinne des Westens, einen *Antipoden* gegen unseren mächtigen Nordosten zu construiren.

Diese mit schlauer Consequenz und mit Eifer betriebene Machination macht um so raschere Fortschritte, da sie vom Regirenden heute irrig begriffen, und in der Verblendung, für das einzige Mittel um sich gegen das Slavische Russland in Zukunft, wenn auch metamorphosirt, zu behaupten, gehalten, öffentlich begünstigt und heimlich unterstützt; von dem sammt seinen Söhnen vollends magyarisirten Palatin aber vielleicht aus Privat-Absichten, auf alle mögliche Art, wie dies tägliche Facta beweisen, mit Aufopferung grosser Geldsummen befördert; und durch Metternich, den die Magyaren seit kurzem mit doppeltem Blutbande, als Schwiegervater und Schwiegersohn, listig umstrickt und an sich gefesselt haben, von Entblössungen beschirmt wird.

Da nun ein bedeutender Theil des Adels und der Catholischen Geistlichkeit auch in unseren, zu Ungarn gehörenden, ilirisch-slavonischen Königreichen: Croatien und Slavonien, mit der gegen Russland planmässig agirenden Aristocratie in Ungarn sehr sympathisirt, und zudem von Seite

der Magyaren mit Kraftaufwande daran gearbeitet wird, auch noch die slavisch gesinnten Stände für sich zu gewinnen, so könnte ihnen dies um so gewisser gelingen, wenn die für das russisch-slavische Interesse wirkenden Patrioten, an deren Spitze ich stehe, ihren trotz allen Hindernissen bereits gewonnenen Resultaten und rastlos fortgesetzten Bestrebungen, dem durch seine grossen Mittel imponirenden Feinde gegenüber, das nöthige Übergewicht zu geben, noch lange ausser Stand belassen bleiben.

Abermals ein wichtiger Moment für die russisch-slavische Politik, der, wenn er rücksichtslos versäumt werden sollte, für Russland, so günstig, als er jetzt ist, um keinen Preis wieder herbeigerufen werden könnte, da die Magyaren durch vielseitige Schmeicheleien exaltirt und durch geheime Verbindungen angespornt mit einer Manie für französische und englische Institutionen glühend, ja sogar in ihrem Übermuthe ihr politisches und nationales Treiben und Leben auf eine beinahe fantastische Weise, ausdrücklich mit England vergleichend, ihrem vorgesteckten Ziele ohne Zeitversäumnis zueilen.

Ausserdem sollte hier wohl erwogen werden, dass unter den Magyaren der blutdürstige Hass gegen die Slaven, sowohl durch Bücherwesen, Journalistik, Predigerstuhl, Schulen und Lieder, als auch sogar durch Sprichwörter (wie z. B. "Tot nem ember", "Der Slave ist kein Mensch") in die Volksmasse verpflanzt und durch Prämien gemährt, schon so weit gediehen ist, dass sich *die Vertilgungssucht in förmlichen Parolen* (wie z. B. *"Tod den Russen", "Oroszok"*, wie sie namentlich *uns Ilirier* zu nennen pflegen, dann, "Vertilgung der slavischen Zunge!") kundthut, ja selbst häufig zu verbrecherischen Thätigkeiten ausartet.

Was für uns Südslaven in den ungarisch-ilirischen Comitaten der Magyarismus, das ist in unserer Militärgränze der *Germanismus*. Fünfzehn Gränz-Regiments-Cantone werden, wie bekannt, in ununterbrochenem Terrain vom Adriatischen Meere bis an die Militärgränze von Siebenbürgen von ilirischen Slaven bewohnt, welche aus ihrer Mitte, ohne sich zu erschöpfen, über 120,000 wohlgeübte, jedem Ungemach trotzende Krieger ins Feld zu stellen vermögen, in deren Brust der schon von Kindheit an geweckte Heldensinn, durch fortwährende Waffenübungen und kriegerische Szenen am türkischen Gränzcordon zu einer unglaublichen Entschlossenheit und Ausdauer erstarkt ist. Diese Krieger, durch deren Tapferkeit die türkischen Unternehmungen so oft gescheitert sind, und von denen ständlich Tag und Nacht mehrere Tausende die gefährlichsten Posten längs dem ganzen abbesetzten Cordon in ununterbrochener Kette, bei jeder Jahreszeit unter freiem Himmel bewachen, bekommen von der Regirung nicht nur keinen Sold, sondern sie müssen vielmehr, von ihren grösstentheils sehr unfruchtbaren Grundstücken bedeutende Steuer zahlen und nebst Bestreitung aller Commun. Lasten, sich allein monturen, und im Cordon-Dienste auf längere Zeit, oft mehrere Meilen von Hause entfernt, verproviantiren.

Zu dem wird ihr National-Gefühl durch die deutschen General-Commandos, die das Josephinische Germanisirungssystem eifrig verfolgen, auf eine erbitternde Weise verwundet. Diese Wunden wurden insbesonders bei der, der russisch-slavischen Kirche angehörigen, sehr zahlreichen Gränzpopulation vor wenigen Jahren durch wiederholte Unions-Versuche noch schmerzlicher gemacht, und werden heut zu Tage fortwährend dadurch erneuert, dass ihre Geistlichkeit von der Regirung absichtlich vernachlässigt und ihre Kirche in Allem unmütterlich behandelt, einen schmachvollen

Contrast zu der sehr begünstigten papistischen Hierarchie bildet, durch diese und ähnliche Bedrängnisse wird die Lage der äusserst geduldigen Gränzen, zeitweise so unerträglich, dass sie es vorziehen, selbst nach Bosnien in grösseren Massen auszuwandern,—so übersiedelten sich, um viele dieser Ereignisse zu übergehen, erst vor kurzer Zeit mehr als 100 Familien aus den Gebirgen der kroat. Carlstädten Generalität, nach türkisch-Croatien über.

Der aus solchen Plackereien entspringende Unmuth nimmt nicht allein in der Militär-Gränze, sondern auch in sämtlichen ilirischen Provinzen täglich zu; und zwar in Croatien, Slavonien, und Nieder-Ungarn durch Magyarisirung; in Steyermark, Kärnthen und Krain durch Germanisirung; in Görz, Istrien und Dalmatien durch Italisirung; in Bosnien, Türkisch-Croatien und Hercegovina durch die allbekannte Mahomedanische Barbarei; und in Serbien durch die aus Trotz und Bosheit eines, gegen die slavische Hauptmacht undankbaren Miloš, immer mehr um sich kreisende Demoralisirung.

Die so allenthalben grossirende Entslawisirung mit ihrem Gefolge von Misshelligkeiten both mir die günstige Gelegenheit dar, in sämtlichen ilirischen Provinzen eine Sehnsucht nach dem väterlichen Oberhaupte des russisch-slavischen Mutterlandes zu wecken, die sich in meinem weit ausgedehnten und mitten im Gewirre feindseliger Umstände durch grosse Opfer mir selbst geschaffenen Wirkungskreise dermassen belebte, dass sie sich bereits überall äussert, vorzüglich aber in der kriegerischen Militär-Gränze, wo sie in trauten Cirkeln, auch selbst unter den Gemeinen sehr oft in den slavisch-patriotischen Toast *"Bože žwi našega Cara Nikolaja, Bože žwi našu Russiu!"* enthusiastisch ausbricht.[16]

Nun entsteht in unserer russisch-slavischen Politik *die höchst wichtige Frage,* wie diese so vortheilhaft geweckte Sehnsucht und Stimmung zu einer Kraft concentrirt werden könnte, die für das oben aufgestellte gemeinschaftliche Interesse bei jedem Andrange kritischer Weltereignisse, entscheidende Folgen sichern würde,—eine Frage, die eine um so genauere Beleuchtung verdient, da, wie es sogar aus öffentlichen Organen bekanntlich zu entnehmen ist, das ganze westliche Europa, die baldige *Vereinigung aller Slaven-Stämme unter Russlands mächtigem Scepter,* mit grosser Bangigkeit und Furcht und Hass gegen die vereinigende Hauptmacht mit fingirten Verfämungen alle Welt zu verhindern trachtet.

Die auf diese Weise gegen Russland und seine sympathisirenden Stammverwandten, nur wegen Thatkraft aufgestachelte, und merklich zunehmende Antipathie im Orient und Occident könnte doch endlich die kolossalen Grundsätze unserer Stütze unterminiren und umso leichter, da schon jetzt ein verblendeter Stamm an der Weichsel, für unser gemeinschaftliches Interesse mit Gewalt gefesselt werden muss; die übrigen aber namentlich ilirischen, der Entslawisirung hilflos preisgegebenen Stämme, bei fortgesetzter Vernachlässigung von Seite Russlands, der natürlichen Pflichten gleichsam entbunden und so seinem Interesse gänzlich entrissen, endlich sogar zu feindlichen Werkzeugen gegen dasselbe umgestaltet werden könnten. Hier genügt zunächst ein Blick auf die geheimen Umtriebe der Franzosen und Engländer, dann auf ihren angeblichen Schützling, den in

[16] Kopitar, the Slovene scholar, hostile to Gaj's plans for South Slav fusion, was indignant at the enthusiasm of the border regiments for the Illyrian agitation (Kulakovskii, p. 199).

englischer Uniform unter türkischer Beschirmung machinirenden Pseudo-Prätendenten von Monte-Negro.[17] Auch ist die in strategischer und commercieller Hinsicht überaus wichtige Lage Maltas, und die dem ilirisch-albanesischen Gestade nahe gelegene Verbindung des Adriatischen Meeres mit dem Mittelländischen; ferner der erst schon von den Römern hoch gepriesene und unerschöpfliche Reichthum an edlen Metallen und anderen Natur-Produkten in den türk.-ilirischen Provinzen, aus deren grossen Waldungen die Engländer seit geraumer Zeit das beste Schiffbauholz in Menge fortschleppen, für den Westen lockend genug um sich um die durch obenberührten Chikanen und durch das in unseren Gegenden stets zunehmende Depauperations-system, die unzufriedenen Südslaven, für jeden Preis zu bewerben, und ihren weltberühmten Heroismus, den selbst der corsische Held hochschätzte, für Zwecke *antislavischer Politik* zu missbrauchen; wodurch unsere gemeinschaftliche National-Existenz auf immer zertrümmert wäre.

Die Lösung der obengestellten Frage hängt dem zu Folge einzig und allein von Russland ab und liesse sich, nach meiner, aus reifer Prüfung aller Umstände resultirenden Überzeugung, auf keine andere Weise zweckdienlich bewerkstelligen, als wenn Russland mit Benützung der bereits Wirksamkeit gemachten Vorarbeiten ungesäumt zu Präoccupationen schreiten würde.

Vor Allem müsste der durch Elend und Überdruss den fremden schon in thätigem Anzuge begriffenen Machinationen offenliegenden Weg von Ilirien, nämlich Bosnien, Türkisch-Croatien, Hercegovina, Albanien und Serbien durch meine bereits allenthalben planmässig basirte Vermittelung und durch die unsagbar thätige Hilfe des dem russischen Thron aufrichtig und treu ergebenen und mit dem in Einverständniss stehenden Wladika vom Monte-Negro, unter dem öffentlichen Prätext einer Befreiung der hartbedrängten Christen vom Muhamedanischen Joche überfallen alarmirt und im Sinne unseres gemeinschaftlichen Interesses Russlands Scepter insgeheim unterworfen und zu einem förmlichen russischen focus in mitten der ilirischen Slaven umgestaltet werden.

[17] In 1838 a struggle broke out between the Vladyka Negoš of Montenegro and Ali Pasha of Herzegovina. A Russian officer, Kovalevskii, engaged in exploration in these regions, arranged an armistice, thus arousing great suspicion among the Austrian authorities. In reporting the Austrian complaints, the Russian chargé in Vienna hoped that Kovalevskii "would impose on himself a greater reserve" (Russian Archives, Struve to Nesselrode, Vienna, Sept. 7/19, 1838, *confidentielle*, f. 319, no. 271). When, three weeks later, the Russian ambassador forwarded Kovalevskii's own report, Nicholas penciled on it: "Mr. Kovalevsky a fort bien agi" (R. A., Tatishchev to Nesselrode, Venice, Sept. 27/Oct. 9, 1838, f. 319, p. 2). These two dispatches were placed in the separate folio with Gai's memorandum and marked "Secret". At the end of November the Russian embassy forwarded a letter from the Vladyka of Montenegro, communicating the convention concluded with the pashas of Herzegovina and Bosnia, which confirmed the political independence of his tiny country (R. A., Struve to Nesselrode, Vienna, Nov. 16/28, 1838, f. 217, no. 89). In May, 1839, Tatishchev had again to report that fresh acts of cruelty committed by Ali Pasha of Herzegovina seemed likely to lead to a renewal of hostilities with Negoš (R. A., Tatishchev to Nesselrode, Vienna, Apr. 26/May 8, 1839, f. 213, no. 74). In 1840 the struggle was renewed and lasted till 1842 (Carl, Ritter von Sax, *Geschichte des Machtverfalls der Türkei*, 2d ed., Vienna, 1913, p. 295). Egor Petrovich Kovalevskii later published an account of his journeys in Montenegro (Barsukov, VI, 143).

Einen ähnlichen Plan fasste schon einst der scharfsinnige Kaiser Joseph II und trachtete ihn für seine Germanisirung auszuführen. Die Klippen, an denen seine Unternehmungen scheitern mussten, sind mir bekannt; und ich halte es, wie manche andere derlei glückliche Fügungen, für ein gutes Vorzeichen, dass mir sein diesfälliger Aufruf im Manuscript in die Hände fiel.

Eine genaue Kenntniss der statistischen und strategischen Lage obenbenommener türk.-ilirischer Provinzen, aus denen bereits in Folge meiner Thätigkeit die einflussreichsten Corporationen beider christlichen Kirchen an mich, als den, ihrer sehnsuchtsvollen Meinung nach, activen Vermittler zwischen den ilirischen Slaven und Russland accreditirte Männer zu wiederholten Malen gesendet haben, garantirt mir für den sicheren Erfolg der Unternehmung, wenn ich durch Disponibilität der zur Ausführung unbedingt nothwendigen Mittel, den vorbereiteten Gemüthern thatsächlich beweise, dass ich als wirklicher Bevollmächtigter unserer russisch-slavischen Regirung agire.[18]

Im Sinne des abgesagten allseitig berechneten Plans, müssten vorerst noch einige nicht anders als durch Bestechung Versprechungen zugänglichen Nationalen von bedeutendem Range und Einflusse vorzüglich in der Militär-Gränze und in dem Reiche gewonnen werden, die sonst auf unsere Operationen nachtheilig einwirken könnten. Dann müssten die bereits gewonnenen, und für den Plan schon wirkenden Männer, auf ihren respectiven Posten förmlich salarirt und auf diese Weise in activen Stand gesetzt werden, um dass sie in jedem Falle die ihnen zu ertheilenden Aufträge mit Nachdruck und Schnelligkeit ausführen könnten. Von letzteren befindet sich hauptsächlich in der Militär-Gränze unter den Officieren und Subalternen, dann unter der Geistlichkeit beider Kirchen und unter den Volksältesten (Starcšine) schon jetzt eine so bedeutende Anzahl, dass es bei der oben angedeuteten Aufregung und allgemeinen Sehnsucht, bloss von der Quantität disponibler Summen abhängt, jede zu benöthigende Masse von Streitkräften zur Ausführung des Plans herauszuheben und mit sich fortzureissen. Ausserdem wären noch mehrere zu Kriegsoperationen nothwendige Branchen zu werben, die wegen unverhältnissmässigen Mangels und kärglichen Unterhalts von Noth und Mangel gedrückt, in unserer nächsten Umgebung jederzeit zu haben sind. Ferner müssten unter mancherlei Vorwänden einige unentbehrliche Requisiten eingekauft, und an bereits ausgemittelten dem Zwecke entsprechenden Punkten deponirt werden.

Zur Bestreitung aller hier kurz bezeichneten Erfordernisse und zur Ausführung des entscheidenden Schlages, welcher mit überraschender Schnelligkeit bewerkstelligt werden müsste, damit die Feinde zur Besinnung und zu Gegenmassnahmen keine Zeit gewännen, brauchen wir nunmehr noch eine documentirte Vollmacht und disponible Summen von Russland, von welchen nach einem beiläufig berechneten Überschlage drei Mill. Gulden C. M. hinreichen würden. Obgleich der grösste Theil der Christlichen Population

[18] Gaj undoubtedly exerted great influence over the younger Franciscans of Bosnia who were trained in the Zagreb seminary (Fischel, p. 139: "Pisma pisana Dru. Ljudevitu Gaju", *op. cit.*, pp. 227–241). In 1837 the pasha of Bosnia complained to Austria of Gaj's pernicious propaganda in his province (Kulakovskii, pp. 213–215). The Bosnian insurrection of 1837 seems, however, to have been the work of Mohammedans, enraged at the attempts of Mahmud II to centralize the administration and to limit the spahis' right to exploit their fellow Slavs, the Christian kmets (Sax, pp. 259–260).

in den besagten türk.-ilirischen Provinzen heimlich schon mit Waffen versehen ist, und wir uns nach sicheren Daten der dortigen Munitions-Vorräthe nebst Fabriken, gleich beim ersten Überfalle leicht bemächtigen würden, so wäre es dennoch,—wenn nicht beim Beginne, doch im Verfolge der Unternehmung,—zur Behauptung der Occupation unumgänglich nothwendig, dass uns Russland ein Quantum von Waffen, vorzüglich Kanonen sammt Munition und anderen Bedarf zukommen liesse, was zur See am füglichsten zu bewerkstelligen wäre, da es ohne dies im Plane liegt, sich gleich beim ersten Angriff der an Cerna Gora angränzenden Albanesisch-ilirischen Küste zu bemächtigen. Auch könnten uns Hilfstruppen, sammt anderen Subsidien, im Falle der Noth durch Bulgarien und Serbien zugehend werden.[19]

Da es übrigens von der Combination des russischen Cabinettes abhängt, die Ausdehnung der beabsichtigten Operationen entweder zu erweitern, oder auf engeren Gränzen zu beschränken; so müsste ausdrücklich bestimmt werden, ob Serbien mit in den zu basirenden russisch-slavischen Focus gezogen, oder noch ferner in den Händen des halsstärrigen, dem Volke äusserst verhassten Miloš bleiben soll. Im letzteren Falle müsste derselbe von Russland aus, unter Androhung schonungsloser Strenge entweder zur gänzlichen Unthätigkeit, oder zu einer angemessenen Theilnahme angehalten werden. Wiewohl letzteres, für das oben aufgestellte allein wahre Interesse mit augenscheinlicher Gefahr verbunden wäre, da es nicht zu bezweifeln ist, dass dieser rohe und listige Machthaber sein Privatinteresse jeder edleren Tendenz vorziehend sehr bald feindselig eingreifen würde.

Sollte etwa, der dem Anscheine nach, nicht sehr ferne Krieg zwischen Russland und England nebst geheimen Alliierten bald ausbrechen, dann bietet der erste Kanonnenschuss von Seite Russlands den günstigsten Moment zum gemeinschaftlichen Aufbruche. Unsere Unternehmungen im Süden wären dann für das nordöstliche Mutterland in vieler Hinsicht doppelt rüstig und um vieles erfolgreicher und schneller ausführbar. Sollte jedoch dieser Moment unterbleiben, so ist demungeachtet aus einleuchtenden Gründen, die Bewerkstelligung unseres Planes durchaus nicht ins Weite zu verschieben; da der zu begründende russisch-slavische Focus, für jeden denkbaren Fall berechenbare positive Vortheile gewähren würde.

Indem sich, der obenerwähnte sehr schnell zu popularisirende Prätext der Insurrection, in den öffentlichen Organen durch Aufstellung analoger Fälle, dann durch geheime, mit dem russischen Cabinette in voraus verabredete diplomatische Demonstrationen gegen Westeuropa von uns aus ohne Schwierigkeit behaupten liesse; es wäre wohl kaum eine Verwickelung der äusseren Verhältnisse zu befürchten, und zwar um so weniger, da der Kampf bloss auf die Gränzen jener türk.-ilirischen Provinzen beschränkt, als eine locale Angelegenheit der Christen von dem Cabinette Russlands auf directem und indirectem Wege leicht vertheidigt und geltend gemacht werden könnte.

Würde aber durch unvorhergesehene Ereignisse bestimmt Österreich feindselig einschreiten wollen, so hängt es von Russland ab, durch unsere und unserer Eingeweihten Vermittelung, der meistens aus Slaven, welche das

[19] In 1839 Pogodin confidently expected a general insurrection of the Bulgarians and their emancipation by Russia, as part of the acute Eastern crisis of that year. In 1841 the western Bulgarian provinces rose in revolt (Barsukov, V, 308; Alois Hajek, *Bulgarien unter der Türkenherrschaft*, Berlin, 1925, pp. 155–162; Sax, p. 295).

physisch und moralisch erbärmliche, und doch dominirende österreichische Deutschthum verachten, bestehenden Streitmacht, deren Kern unsere Militär-Gränze bildet, eine, den grössten Theil des österreichischen Staates, in Russlands Arme umstürzende Wendung zu geben.

Aus allen diesen relationirten dennoch sehr günstigen Verhältnissen resultirt folgende Alternative: Russland möchte entweder den projectirten politischen Focus für sich und uns noch bei Zeiten durch die besagte Occupation erreichen; oder aber um wenigstens die schon jetzt positiv bestehenden Vortheile für sich zu sichern, eine förmlich auctorisirte geheime Agentie in unserer Mitte organisiren, deren Hauptaufgabe es wäre, die Literatur im Geiste der russisch-slavischen Politik in Schwung zu bringen, um auf diesem Wege Russlands sympathische Elemente in unserer precairen Lage und steigenden Gefährdung von völligem Untergange zu conserviren. Mit diesem letzteren Vorschlage steht meine Sr. Majestät dem Kaiser im Monathe Sept. d. 7 zu Berlin allerunterthänigst unterbreitete Note "Im Betreff der Süd-Slaven" im combinirten Zusammenhange.

Beides könnte Russland jetzt durch verhältnissmässig geringen Kostenaufwand realisiren, was nach Versäumung des nun noch günstigen Zeitpunktes, selbst durch Verwendung der grössten Kräfte und Summen, *nimmer mehr durchgesetzt werden könnte.* Mit je grösserem Zutrauen das Mutterland unserer natürlichen Anhänglichkeit entgegenkommen wird, auf um so innigeres Aufschliessen kann es, vermög unserem patriarchalischen National-Character, bauen. Die Ilirier können ohne einen Familien-Vater nicht leben, und je stärkeren Schutz er ihnen verbürgt, je zutraulicher er ihnen begegnet, mit desto grösserer Hingebung schliessen sie sich an ihn an. Dieser unserem National-Gemüth tief inwohnende Character-Zug, bewährte sich bei dem ilirischen Stamme, wie dies die Geschichte beweist, selbst gegen sein eigenes Interesse von Fremden durch Täuschung und Trug missbraucht.

In jedem Falle der oben ermittelten Alternative, sind wir bereit, mit jeglicher Aufopferung für den mächtigen russisch-slavischen Thron, als die unserer Überzeugung nach, einzige Basis unserer National-Existenz zu wirken und uns jeder Ordre, der wir in Folge dieses Documentes als des Pfandes unserer kindlichen Hingebung, mit Zuversicht entgegenharren, mit Gerhorsam zu fügen. Wien am 1 November 1838.

Liudevit Gaj Ivanovič.

Post Scriptum.

Wir Ilirischen Slaven haben (um alle, im obigen Documente kurz auseinandergesetzten Motive, auf meine gewöhnlichen, meist aus Gleichnissen bestehenden, schriftlich und mündlich popularisirten, Doctrinen zurückzuführen) kein eigenes Befugnis, auf dem wir zum dauernd sicheren Port unserer slavischen National-Existenz gelangen könnten. Es locken uns aber Capitaine fremder Schiffe mit Winken und Versprechungen auf ihren trügerischen Bord, sollen wir ihnen folgen? Sollen wir als getäuschte Matrosen unter ihrem Befehle selbstmörderisch gegen jenes kolossale Schiff ziehen, welches dem gesamten Slaventhum gehörend, von der Vorsehung nur allein dazu bestimmt ist, uns in den ersehnten Hafen im Mitten aller Stürme, durch unsere Kräfte verstärkt gefahrlos zu bringen.

Es rückt die Stunde heran, und es nähern sich zwei Wesen dem grossen Schachbrett von Europa, um durch die letzten verhängnissvollen Züge zu entscheiden, wem gehören solle unser Jahrhundert. Das eine der Wesen ist

der bluttriefende Dämon vom Untergange der Sonne, ihm zur Linken der Abend, zur Rechten der Herbst, und sie stellen auf das getäfelte Brett, die ihnen anheimgefallenen Völker. Das Andere ist der Majestätische Genius vom Aufgange der Sonne mit der glorreichsten Krone am erhabenen Haupte, geistvoll und liebreich vor sich gruppirend die jugendlichkräftigen Stämme der Slaven, ihm zur Linken der Morgen, zur Rechten der blühende Frühling im grünen Gewande.

Liudevit Gaj Ivanovič.

(Translation from the Russian)

Secret.

Dear sir,

Count Karl Vasilievich![20]

In accordance with the august command of His Majesty the Emperor, I have the honor to transmit herewith to Your Grace a formal document, confidentially communicated by Professor Gaj, who lives in Agram (which is in Croatia), to the Colonel of the Corps of Gendarmes, Ozeretskovskii, in Vienna, in which are explained the striving of the society, of which Gaj calls himself the head, and the purpose of this society regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In communicating the above mentioned document to Colonel Ozeretskovskii, Mr. Gaj requested him to guarantee that what he, Gaj, has written shall remain absolutely secret and that the Russian government, now having in its hands the guarantee of his devotion, on which his life depends, shall preserve this document as a secret from the Austrian cabinet.

Senyavin.

No. 3672.
December 14, 1838.

[20] Nesselrode. Russian Archive, Vienna, 1838, f. 319, p. 14.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF GENERAL, ANCIENT, AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Le journal: Origines, évolution, et rôle de la presse périodique. Par GEORGES WEILL, professeur à l'Université de Caen. [L'évolution de l'humanité, dirigée par Henri Berr.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1934. Pp. xix, 450. 40 fr.)

IN the general index of the *Cambridge Modern History* the subject "Newspapers" finds no place and the number of entries under the general heading "Press" is exceeded by the number of entries accorded to the duchies of Jülich-Cleves and Jülich-Berg. The inference is so obvious that it need not be drawn. Under the circumstances Professor Weill's volume will be welcomed by those whose interests encompass the field of social and cultural history. Drawing upon the works of Hatin, Fox Bourne, Groth, and Bauer, and the considerable mass of historical, literary, biographical, and sociological material, he has given us a *tableau d'ensemble* of the press that extends "through three centuries in four countries, Germany, the United States, France and England". However, without losing sight of differences produced by the national milieu in which the press developed, the author has kept the narrative focused clearly upon the fundamental and common aspects of institutional growth and development.

From the manuscript newsletter through the printed newsleaflet to the first extant examples of this genre to achieve unmistakable periodicity, the author traces the genesis of the weekly newspapers of the early seventeenth century. Offering little beyond a simple chronicle of events, they were subjected everywhere to the hampering restrictions of censorship and monopoly. The abolition of the censorship in England (1695) was a landmark in the history of journalism. In response to the demands of English parliamentary and economic development, the political article and the commercial advertisement were added to the chronicle of events. Thus in the eighteenth century the press of the Anglo-Saxon peoples was stamped with its main features; it became a vendor of news, an instrument of political agitation and propaganda, and an agency for advertising. The political emancipation of the Continental press between 1789 and 1848 is described with a wealth of significant and interesting detail. Liberal forces showed great skill in using this new agency against conservative tradition and institutions, hence the liberty of the press became a cardinal point in the political program of the rising middle class.

The press had scarcely established itself as a political force when social and economic changes ushered in a new and even more startling chapter in the history of journalism. Beginning with the invention of the steam-driven printing press, followed by the telegraph and telephone, the linotype and rotary press, photoengraving and wood pulp paper, the technological basis of newspaper production was completely revolutionized. While production and distribution were thus transformed, the general economic development, growth of urban areas, and spread of public education created a demand for the popular sensational type of journal which men like Hearst, Northcliffe, and Ullstein were quick to exploit. With circulation figures rising to a million, with overhead for plant and personnel increasing, with competition in the advertising field becoming ever keener, the metropolitan newspaper emerged as a mighty commercial and industrial undertaking. In the twentieth century it felt the impact of the same forces that affected large scale industry—concentration, rationalization, and standardization.

Concluding chapters of the volume are concerned with the press during the War and postwar periods, its operation under the authoritarian regimes in Russia, Germany, and Italy, the further modification of the material aspects of the journals by mechanical invention, and the development of the newspaper in the Orient and the Near East. It is only in the closing pages that the author attempts to assess the social significance of this institution, the history and development of which he has so skillfully portrayed. This is the least satisfactory chapter in the volume. It scarcely suffices to dismiss the problem, as Professor Weill does, with Royer-Collard's words: "Le bien et le mal de la presse sont inséparables." A selective bibliography and an adequate index complete this admirable historical survey of one of the most perplexing institutions of the modern age.

The University of Virginia. ORON JAMES HALE.

The History of Spain. Part I, by LOUIS BERTRAND, of the Académie française; part II, by LOUIS BERTRAND and SIR CHARLES PETRIE, Bart., M. A., F. R. Hist. S. Translated by Warre B. Wells. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1934. Pp. xv, 564. $4.00.)

As the author of an almost unreadable history of Spain, the reviewer had hoped to have an opportunity to accord generous praise to this work as "outstandingly the best one-volume history of Spain in English". Unfortunately it is impossible to make any such statement. The book *is* readable—almost as attractive as fiction; indeed, it sometimes more nearly resembles that than serious history.

Most of the book is the work of Bertrand, who wrote all of Part I, from the Moslem conquest in 711 to the death of Philip II in 1598, and much of

Part II, with Petrie collaborating only on the second part. A native of France, Bertrand has written numerous books, including some historical novels. He has lived in North Africa, and one gathers the impression that he must have had a very bad time among the Mohammedan peoples there. At any rate, the principal feature of the book—about half of it in fact—is devoted to an effort to prove that the Moslem domination of the Iberian Peninsula was a great misfortune for Spain. If Bertrand were a lawyer for the plaintiff or a zealous Christian monk who had been persecuted by the Mohammedans he could not have argued his case in more partisan fashion. Examples could be given *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam*. Even in the section devoted to the discovery and conquest of America, Bertrand is still crusading and doing little else.

Sir Charles Petrie makes his bow in Part II. An Oxford historian, he has written many books, often at the rate of one a year, but has not previously published any volume on Spanish history. This section of the book, which is much shorter than Part I, takes from 1598 to the overthrow of the monarchy in 1931. Mainly the story is political, with strong monarchical leanings, but with less bias than Part I. One feels the continued presence of M. Bertrand, however. For example, it is implied that the war of independence in New Spain may have been due to the expulsion of the Jesuits in the eighteenth century—certainly a very great bit of overemphasis.

Lack of balance and proportion at times reaches ludicrous extremes. Thirteen pages are devoted to the Cordovan martyrs and twenty to the Cid, while one finds little or nothing on such overwhelmingly more important matters as the evolution toward political unity of Christian Spain, the relations of king and church, the history of the Cortes, and many others. The alleged "Bibliography" is pitiful. There is a two-page list of seventy-one items, badly entered and without a word of comment anywhere. Considering the special thesis of the work, one would expect a rather liberal quota of references to materials on the Moslem period, but there is nothing here but a few well-known books, none of which warrant the conclusions of Bertrand. As an illustration of the lack of thoroughness of the writers, Merriman's great *Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New* is entered as of two volumes. The authors have not taken the pains to find out that volumes three and four of this indispensable work have also been published.

The translation from the French and the handling of the literary presentation generally are good. Numerous errors are perhaps only to be expected in a work covering such a broad sweep of time. There is a serviceable index.

The University of California. CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

La politique étrangère d'Athènes de 404 à 338 avant Jésus-Christ. Par PAUL CLOCHÉ, professeur à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de

Besançon. [Bibliothèque de la Revue historique.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1934. Pp. 343. 40 fr.)

THE purpose of Professor Cloché's book is first to show how Athens regained much of the power and prestige which she had lost to Sparta in 404, and then to trace the decline which culminated in Chaeronea. Since the general course of development during this period is well known, it is unnecessary to follow the author through the ten stages into which he divides the history of Athenian foreign policy between 404 and 338 B. C.

More important for our purpose is the author's point of view toward the complex of forces, both local and external, which determined the course of development, and toward the personages who were active for the good or evil of the Athenian state. Since Athens was directly or indirectly concerned with every war fought on Greek soil during the fourth century, and since she participated in, or was affected by every important treaty made during the period, this study of Athenian foreign relations is in effect a diplomatic history of Greece seen through Athenian spectacles. It follows then that there is a tendency, implicit at any rate, to adopt Athenian standards of value and to exalt such policies as were designed to secure Athenian interests and to re-establish the political and economic prestige of Athens. This leads naturally to a disregard for the welfare of Greece as a whole, or to the tacit judgment that the best interests of Hellas would have been served if Athens had been at all times the dominant political power. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find that the author reflects the opinions and prejudices of Demosthenes, for Demosthenes was the outstanding exponent of civic autonomy in an age when growing individualism had so weakened the old loyalties as to make the city-state a menace to Hellenic civilization.

Politically, fourth-century Greece is a depressing picture, as Professor Cloché readily admits. Yet in his opinion it is saved from utter condemnation by the fact that it produced two statesmen, Demosthenes and his predecessor Callistratus. Isocrates, too, although his vision was not limited by the particularistic horizon of the city-state, receives a word of praise for the glowing propaganda with which he defended and enhanced the reputation of Athens. The reader wonders whether brilliant propaganda and zeal for national, *i.e.*, Athenian interests, inevitably selfish and imperialistic when opportunity offers, are the sole criteria of greatness.

Despite the sympathies of the author, and partly because of them, the book gives an excellent picture of the problems confronted by Athens in those days of almost constant diplomatic revolutions, of the differing points of view held by rival politicians and the social and political groups for which they spoke, of the decisions taken by the assembly, and of the outcome of these and many other factors. The narrative is reinforced at frequent intervals by direct quotations from contemporary orators and historians, mostly in

translation. Where quotations are lacking, references to ancient sources are the invariable rule. Inscriptions are often cited, and an occasional Greek phrase is quoted from them or other important documents. Our sympathy goes out to the author at this point, for the printer has marred his work at times by an indiscriminate use of accents and breathings and by an unpleasant mixture of fonts. The book contains a useful bibliography, not without omissions, and a convenient index.

Professor Cloché has given us a very readable book, generally accurate in point of fact, and more than ordinarily reflective of the social and political background of the period. As an interpretation of the patriotic aims and aspirations of one section of Athenian public opinion, it is excellent, almost eloquent; and if one grants an axiomatic character to the author's premise that national (Athenian) interests should be paramount, it will be convincing.

Without wishing to be unfair to the author, I cannot help feeling that his sympathies are to some degree the product of reflections upon the position which his country has occupied in European politics in modern times. Would it be just to compare the spirit of Demosthenes struggling to restore the glorious Athens of Pericles with that of France eclipsed by the military power of Bismarck's Germany? This would be no more unreasonable than a tendency, once quite strong among German scholars, to take the side of barbarian Macedonia against the invectives of Demosthenes.

The University of Cincinnati. ALLEN B. WEST.

The Cambridge Ancient History. Edited by S. A. COOK, F. E. ADCOCK, and M. P. CHARLESWORTH. Volume X, *The Augustan Empire, 44 B. C.–A. D. 70*. Volume of Plates, IV. Prepared by C. T. SELTMAN, M.A. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. xxxii, 1057; xiv, 210. $11.00; $4.00.)

THE tenth volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History* is a worthy successor to the nine which have preceded it. The series of which it forms a part needs neither introduction nor commendation. The contributors to the present volume are F. E. Adcock, J. G. C. Anderson, H. Idris Bell, M. P. Charlesworth, R. G. Collingwood, T. R. Glover, Sir Henry Stuart Jones, Hugh Last, A. Momigliano, A. D. Nock, F. Oertel, G. H. Stevenson, Eugénie Strong, Ronald Syme, and W. W. Tarn. From such collaborators the reader will naturally expect much and he will not find himself disappointed.

More than half of the 865 pages of text are devoted to Augustus, in dealing with whose reign narrative history is subordinated to a careful analysis of his work and an estimate of his achievements, and the same policy is followed in the treatment of the other emperors. The editors and contributors have evidently, and rightly, considered that the conditions in

the Empire as a whole are of greater interest and importance than the scandals of the imperial court or the details of trials before the senate. In order to cover all phases of the life of the times chapters are included on the economic and religious developments during the period and on the art and literature of the Augustan age.

The portraits of the emperors are drawn with due regard to the solid results of recent studies: Tiberius is no longer merely a hypocrite and a tyrant; the sanity of Gaius remains doubtful, but he is much less grotesque and fantastic than he generally appears; Claudius far from being a fool is in some respects one of the great emperors; even Nero is more of an artist and less of a monster than he is usually pictured. Perhaps the most striking novelties, however, are to be found in the Antony and Cleopatra who are here presented to us. In connection with them some familiar events are materially altered. The funeral oration shrinks to a few words and the decisive factor in the battle of Actium is a mutiny of Antony's fleet. In both cases the reader who examines the references given will probably agree with the new version, but there are other points which are at least open to question. Many will, perhaps, hesitate to accept an Antony who has himself no desire to eliminate Octavian and is with difficulty pushed into war without stronger evidence than his failure to interfere when Sextus Pompey and Lepidus were overthrown (pp. 76 f.), since his pre-occupation with the Parthian war will adequately explain his inaction. Some may also be inclined to regard the ambition attributed to Cleopatra (pp. 76 and 81) of ruling the Roman world as propaganda rather than fact and to view the prophecies "of the overthrow and enslavement of Rome by Asia" (p. 82) as showing what a large number of people desired rather than as revealing what Cleopatra seriously hoped or intended. Rome was probably quite unpopular enough in the East to make such prophecies natural under the circumstances and Octavian had an obvious interest in making them widely known.

Other doubtful generalizations and interpretations will meet the reader in the course of the book. Not everyone will admit that "the Republic had objected on principle to transmarine colonization", and that the advocacy of this idea made C. Gracchus unpopular (p. 221). The opposition seems to have been chiefly directed against a colony on the site of Carthage, for Marius founded one in Corsica and some of his veterans were settled in Africa. Moreover, very soon after Gracchus's death we have the foundation of Narbo, a colony which though not strictly transmarine was certainly outside Italy and might, therefore, be considered open to the same objections. Again, one may question whether when in 58 the senate offered Nero a perpetual consulship it was "presumably in the hope that with the continued exercise of this magistracy he would be led more and more into the straight path of Republican tradition" (p. 706), since senatorial flattery of the

emperor seems hardly to require so subtle an explanation. However, although there are occasional points where differences of opinion will inevitably arise, there seem to be few actual mistakes. At any rate those which the reviewer has noticed are too trivial to be worth mentioning.

Detailed discussion of a work of such magnitude and scope is of course impossible within any reasonable limits. The reader cannot fail to be impressed by the high level of scholarship displayed throughout the book as well as by the sound judgment and breadth of view which are constantly revealed. Each chapter is accompanied by a well-chosen bibliography and this volume like its predecessors is indispensable to the serious historian.

The volume of plates is designed to illustrate the period covered by this and the preceding volume. The illustrations are both well executed and well selected and form a useful and attractive supplement to the two volumes in question.

The University of Texas. FRANK BURR MARSH.

La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie, le limes de Trajan à la conquête arabe: Recherches aériennes, 1925–1932. Par A. POIDEBARD. Introduction de FRANZ CUMONT. [Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, XVIII.] Texte; Atlas. (Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1934. Pp. xxiv, 213; viii, 11, CLXI plates. 400 fr.)

IN the preface to this volume Franz Cumont introduces the reader to the new aeronautical exploration the results of which are set forth in the body of the work. He also sketches very briefly the history of Syria under Roman domination. After a first chapter which explains the methods of research involved, the second chapter defines the *limes*, describes it from the geographical, climatic, economic and political, and military points of view, and outlines its development in its three principal periods, the second century, the time of Diocletian, and the Byzantine period.

Chapters III–VI describe in detail the course of the *limes*, and the various elements of which it is composed. A review of the fourth chapter may serve to indicate the scheme and scope of this description. The geographical situation of Palmyra and the mountain range running east and northeast therefrom are briefly described. The *limes* consisted of a road to the north of the mountains from Palmyra to Soura and from Soura to Circesium by both banks of the Euphrates, and another direct from Palmyra to Circesium following the south side of the range. These roads are then described in detail and section by section; tables of stations and distances according to aeronautical survey and the Peutinger Table; milestones, posts, and crossroads; brief history of the roads; and a strategical study of the angle of the *limes* at Soura. All this is accompanied by frequent reference to the relevant plates.

Chapter VII assembles "certaines lignes générales de cette organisation des voies de communication", describing the paved highways with measurements, etc.; dirt roads and caravan tracks; bridges, guard and signal towers; the water stations (in great detail), their number, size, protection, the system of collection and distribution of water; the organization of agricultural and pastoral centers; and finally the part played by the natives in the defense of the *limes*.

The conclusion comments upon the map resultant from the explorations: "Dans le désert de Syrie, le limes romain était, la carte le montre, non une limite bornière comme nos frontières modernes, mais un vaste réseau routier parallèle à la limite du territoire d'empire", and describes the general features of the system as manifested in the map.

The portfolio has a map (24 x 28 inches) provided with numerous symbols to signify the various types of structures constituting the *limes* and 161 beautifully printed plates. Most of the plates are aerial photographs showing the outlines of Roman remains invisible on the ground level, with data as to time of day, light, and elevation from which the photographs were made; some are plans translated from aerial photographs.

M. Poidebard's work is a very important reference book, and affords a clear guide for future projects of excavation in Syria.

Western Reserve University. ROBERT SAMUEL ROGERS.

Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis, 1116–1786. Edidit D. JOSEPHUS M. CANIVEZ, Ord. Cist. Ref. Volumes I, II, *1116–1261*. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, fasc. 9 and 10.] (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue. 1933; 1934. Pp. xxxi, 533; xvi, 490.)

ALL students of medieval history will welcome the appearance of these volumes, for the Cistercians were of very great importance in the history of the Middle Ages. Within a century after its founding (A. D. 1090) the order had five hundred houses; and half as many more were added before the close of the medieval period. In their polity the Cistercians stood midway between the early Benedictines, with their isolated houses quite independent of each other, and the complete centralization of Cluny. Each Cistercian house was autonomous, electing its own abbot, owning its own property, and controlling its own finances. A general chapter of the abbots of the order met yearly, however, and to this chapter all the houses were subject. The first general chapter met in 1116. The records of this meeting, as well as those of the others held prior to 1134, are missing, but in that year the statutes of preceding years were collected and arranged in eighty-five articles (I, 12–32). From 1134 to 1180 there are a few gaps, but from 1180 to 1261 the statutes follow year by year in unbroken con-

tinuity. The editor has been at great pains to ensure the best possible text and to supply us with all the important variants.

The Cistercians were famed for their austerity. All of the provisions of the Rule of St. Benedict receive repeated emphasis in the statutes, and the spirit of the rule, as well, is expressed in their detailed provisions. The first article of the "collectio" of 1134 contains the well-known provision that Cistercian houses are to be built far from the haunts of men ("in locis a conversatione hominum semotis"). An interesting example of Cistercian austerity is to be found in the provision that the houses of the order are not to keep animals more noted for beauty or the bizarre than for utility, such as deer, bear, or cranes (I, 14).

The general chapters were concerned to keep all the houses of the order up to the mark. It was provided by an early chapter that the abbot of Citeaux should preside at all meetings and that in debate that side should prevail which he favored. This "father abbot" was also to be the official visitor of each and every house. Seemingly, Citeaux was to be the model to which all other houses must conform, in every particular. Actually, as the statutes make clear, the presiding abbot appointed other abbots to assist him in his work of visitation. In fact he shared his authority and leadership in general with "the first four abbots", of whom much is seen in the statutes. These were the heads of the first four abbeys founded after Citeaux itself, namely, La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Marimond.

Statutes were drawn up by a committee consisting of the father abbot, the first four abbots, and certain other abbots whom they, or the general chapter, might name. After approving the statutes the general chapter proceeded to the disciplining of abbots who had broken the rules of the order, or indulged in unbecoming conduct. The penalty was usually banishment from the stall, with a day or so on bread and water, but might extend to deposition. Monks were disciplined as well as abbots. In the case of abbots or monks not present about whom damaging information had been received the chapter would appoint one or more of its members as a "justice" to proceed in the matter, and report at the next chapter. Complaints and petitions came next, both of a very varied character, and full of interest to the student of almost any phase of medieval history.

Attendance was good, it would seem. The largest number of absentees noted in these records was sixteen (I, 323–324). Yearly attendance was required, in general, but the abbots of Lombardy and Germany were allowed to come every other year; those from England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, every fourth year, as also those from Greece; the Syrian abbots might attend every fifth year. The abbots of Hungary, Poland, and Livonia were excused from attending the general chapter indefinitely, in 1259, on account of the danger from the Tartars (II, 449). All the abbots of the

British Isles were deposed in a body, on one occasion, for repeated failure to put in an appearance.

The volumes before us are without an index, but indexes are promised at the end of the work.

Boston University. W. O. Ault.

BOOKS OF MODERN HISTORY

Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517–1585. Herausgegeben von Karl Schottenloher. Band II, *Personen M-Z, Orte und Landschaften.* [Die Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation.] (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann. 1935. Pp. x, 760.)

The appearance of the second volume of Dr. Karl Schottenloher's remarkably comprehensive bibliography after the lapse of so short a time, little more than a year since the publication of the first of the series, calls again for hearty congratulations to its industrious editor and to the commission which has so generously sponsored it. Further cause for congratulation is to be found in the editor's promise that the entire work will be completed before long.

More than half of the present volume is devoted to the completion of the list of biographical works. With the plan and scope of this section, those who have examined the previous volume will be familiar. The remainder of the book, however, deals with a new and equally interesting field. Here are collected the titles of local histories, under the heading "Orte und Landschaften". The number and variety of these bear witness to the local or civic pride as well as to the scholarly industry of generations of German historians. The greater states, with their princes, are reserved for the following volume under a separate heading, but here are included, among other cities and localities, those innumerable petty states—free lordships, imperial cities, and cloisters holding directly from the emperor—which dotted the map of sixteenth century Germany. Geographical boundaries have necessarily been more strictly drawn than in the section on biographical literature, but the editor has fortunately interpreted the boundaries of Germany as those of the Holy Roman Empire, thus making possible the inclusion of places that are intimately connected with German history, but are scarcely German in the modern sense.

The classification of local histories presents a number of problems, which Dr. Schottenloher has met with admirable good sense. Among the most perplexing was undoubtedly that of differentiating between works which are primarily local histories and those dealing with some special movement or subject in relation to a particular place, in which the subject

is more important than the geographical limitations. In the latter case he has reserved full citations for inclusion in the forthcoming volume, to be classified under subject headings, and has been content with a cross reference under the place name in the present list. Thus histories of the Peasants' War or studies of the schools, universities, printing, etc., in particular localities will be cited under those general headings. On the other hand, where such subjects are mentioned only incidentally in books dealing essentially with the history of a place, the reverse process will be carried out.

In its careful accuracy and exhaustive thoroughness, Dr. Schottenloher's work continues to fulfill the promise of the first volume. The present reviewer is still of the opinion, expressed in an earlier comment on the preceding volume, that some critical appraisement of the more important works and, possibly, a more selective method would have added to the usefulness of the bibliography, at least for American students. The virtues of completeness, however, are not to be disparaged, and they become more apparent as the work progresses into other than biographical fields.

New York University. WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

La politique étrangère de la France et le début de la guerre de Trente ans, 1616–1621. Par VICTOR L. TAPIÉ, agrégé de l'Université, docteur ès lettres. (Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1934. Pp. viii, 672. 120 fr.)

IN this scholarly volume Dr. Tapié dwells upon "the pacific character" of French foreign policy between 1616 and 1621. All governmental officials —Richelieu, Puysieux, Schomberg, Béthune, and others, who directed the internal and external policies of France, worked to maintain one thing only —peace. In trying to achieve this objective, they were continuing the policy of Henry IV who had negotiated the truce between the United Netherlands and Spain and who planned pacific settlements in Italy and Central Europe. Spanish interests in Italy and the Calvinist problem in the Germanies, however, hindered France in her attempts to prevent war. Traditionally an ally of the Evangelical Union in Germany, and by 1616 a close friend of Spain, she hesitated to become involved in the affairs of these neighbors. "An equilibrium in Central Europe would have been very satisfactory to France", writes Dr. Tapié, "but unfortunately Europe did not favor it" (p. 625).

Other problems help to explain France's failure to maintain peace in Central Europe. Financial difficulties at home forced that country to neglect Central Europe at a time when French influence was needed. Agitations of certain noblemen and the discontent of the Huguenots at home caused the Regency in 1619 to draw close to Catholic Spain. At the same time trouble between the Bohemians and the Catholic Hapsburgs

greatly encouraged the French Huguenots; while complicated religious and political issues in the various German states increased the difficulties confronting France in her desire to "keep the peace".

The election of the elector of the Palatinate as king of Bohemia forced France to act. Considering this event as a blow to the monarchial principle, the French ministers decided that the whole thing was illegal. They planned to arrange a compromise between Bohemia and the Hapsburg ruler and thus to avoid war. Louis XIII, however, looked upon the Bohemian revolt as an attack upon Catholicism and promised help to the Holy Roman Emperor. But the Hapsburg ruler did not welcome "French interest". In his opinion a military victory alone could settle the issue. Urged by the French Huguenots to help the Dutch Calvinists, and faced by Spanish support of the Hapsburgs, the French representative at Vienna was unable to carry out the pacific policy of France. The Thirty Years War followed.

Dr. Tapié has written a stimulating and scholarly interpretation of the complicated diplomatic situation which precipitated this great European struggle. His contribution is of special importance because of the lack of exhaustive works dealing with this phase of French history. For these reasons the reviewer hopes that the author will continue his researches in the period of the Thirty Years War and that this volume will be the first of a number of works on the subject.

Minor criticism could be offered at this point. An excellent bibliography, carefully arranged, however, indicates that Dr. Tapié has examined a vast amount of material covering all phases of his subject. He has not limited his researches to the French archives. Apparently he has tried to gather pertinent materials available in Central Europe, especially in Bohemia. He admits that a considerable portion of the documents dealing with this subject were destroyed during the Thirty Years War. Nevertheless, a careful study of the book proves that he has made excellent use of the information he has gathered. In the opinion of the reviewer, therefore, minor criticisms would be superfluous.

The University of California. FRANKLIN C. PALM.

The Later Stuarts, 1660–1714. By G. N. CLARK, M.A., Chichele Professor of Economic History and Fellow of All Souls College, sometime Fellow of Oriel College. [The Oxford History of England, edited by G. N. Clark.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xix, 461. $5.00.)

THE series known as the "Oxford History of England", which when completed will consist of fourteen volumes, makes its bow with this volume by the general editor. "It is now generally agreed", runs the publisher's

announcement, "that economic, intellectual, and social developments are at least as important as the political and constitutional happenings with which the older histories are mainly concerned. . . . While political and constitutional history will be in no way neglected, full space will be given to the description of economic conditions, manners and social life, and the arts and sciences." A large order, even for fourteen volumes of five hundred pages each, for however one may wish to subordinate politics, they have a way of taking the stage, since it is by political changes that we are accustomed to measure historical time. Not perhaps because political events are the most important in human experience, but because they are the most public, and so have a continuity that is easy to follow. Being common to all, from king to beggar, they serve to summarize in an unsatisfactory way the living together of a people, and the more obvious contacts with other peoples. Though Professor Clark's treatment of political history is broad and simple, it absorbs nonetheless seven of his fourteen chapters, and intrudes upon several of the remaining seven. The difference between this and earlier histories is perhaps less in a subordination of politics than in a subordination of the individual. The rôle of the individual used to be underscored as if history were a glorified game of bowls in which a few expert players—Elizabeth and Napoleon—ran up high scores. Today history is more like a slow, glacial current which overtakes and overwhelms the bowlers, the bowls, and the ninepins.

Professor Clark is one of the most dispassionate of historians. His estimate of Oates and Tonge as "two of the vilest liars in the world" (p. 88), is the only observation in the book which suggests heat, but probably it was coolly considered. One may illustrate this objectivity by noting the appraisal of the significance of James II in the Revolution of 1688, and the valedictory to William III. What followed the accession of James, says Professor Clark, "was merely the working-out of the contradictions which lay half-hidden in the existing situation. The constitution was in unstable equilibrium, and the revolution which ruined the Stuart dynasty was a shifting of the conditions in which the British people were to co-operate in their political life" (p. 111). Of William III he says: "His career illustrates the paradox that the strong men of history often achieve the opposite of what they intend. He had no intention of abating the prerogatives of the English Crown, but his elevation made the king, lately a divinely appointed ruler, into the first paid official of the state. He never relinquished the dynastic view of monarchy, and he completed the long ascent of the house of Orange to royal rank; but his Revolution and his resistance to Louis XIV were two steps towards the downfall of the French monarchy and of dynasticism in and after the French Revolution" (p. 191). It was the historical habit of Macaulay to let the grand and the wicked personages run

away with situations. To Mr. Clark they are inextricably a part of them, and for all their swords and crowns, not so very powerful.

Professor Clark is also one of the most European of English historians, and does not dismiss the Continent from his mind as English politicians did, "not for the last time in history", after the Peace of Ryswick (p. 180). Though this broader view has less scope in a volume dedicated to insular history than in his excellent book on *The Seventeenth Century,* it is to be discerned in the association of English with European developments, and negatively in an unwillingness to exaggerate English statesmanship or English success. One may illustrate the first of these attitudes by a comparison of English with Continental approach toward absolutism: "All over Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the tendency towards absolute monarchy encountered two main kinds of resistance, that of aristocracies and that of privileged corporations. In England the latter was ultimately to prove the more important of the two, and one of the distinctive characteristics of English life in later centuries is that the vigorous self-direction of a large number of half-private associations was able to resist the state-control which on the Continent resulted equally from revolution and from monarchist reaction" (p. 103). Of English policy in defending the Spanish Netherlands against France Professor Clark speaks doubtfully: "No direct and immediate British interest was touched by Louis's advance, and the traditional argument that it was contrary to British interest to allow the French to absorb the Spanish Netherlands was a hypothetical and contingent argument, relating to what would be the ultimate effect on British interests of a change in the strategic geography of Europe" (p. 105). In the smashing victories of what he calls "Marlborough's War" Mr. Clark displays little interest. Blenheim receives a scant page. But on the relation between English victory and English liberty he offers this weighty comment: "They saw that the long constitutional struggle had given them freedom, because it was the freedom which they had demanded, the sum of hundreds of parliamentary resolutions which their kings had withstood. They did not see that they had paid for their liberties by turning the commonwealth into a fighting machine" (p. 249). Of the relations of England with Ireland Mr. Clark observes with a conspicuous absence of bias that "even if both sides had believed nothing except what was true, each would have had ample warrant for believing, as they did believe, that the other consisted of bloody savages" (p. 282).

The constitutional history of the period is treated with originality and with the author's decided gift for compact and trenchant summary. Of the Interregnum he says: "A many-sided experiment in liberty had been tried and failed" (p. 32). The struggle for supremacy thenceforth was to be that of the restored monarchy with the landowning classes, in which control of municipal corporations was a vital factor. The Revolution was

an episode in that struggle, conservative in form but, viewed as an integral part of the changes of the next six years, truly revolutionary in its effect on the position of the crown.

On the interrelations of economic and political developments Mr. Clark is, as one would expect, extremely interesting. On the animus against France he notes that "The cause of civil and religious liberty began to have links with that of protectionism" (p. 86). He suggests a possible connection between unemployment and Monmouth's rising (p. 115). Of the devices used to finance the War of the League of Augsburg, he says: "They hastened the capitalistic development of the country's economic resources, while at the same time they virtually ended the long-drawn antagonism between the Crown and the commons over questions of taxation" (p. 168). Of the place which the Bank of England won by its assistance in financing the war: "From this time the bank more than any other single factor was responsible for some characteristic features of the organization of English politics and business. . . . Financiers as a body felt that their security depended on the bank and on the government which stood behind it: the Revolution settlement became the greatest of vested interests" (pp. 171–172). Of the economic aspects of parliamentary policy: "Parliament was not the organ of a landed aristocracy divided on ecclesiastical, European, dynastic, and constitutional questions but united in its economic interests. On the contrary, it was a meeting-place where divergent economic interests were reconciled and combined so as to provide an adequate body of support for the government of the day" (p. 251).

The chapters on "Intellectual and economic tendencies", "Literature and thought", and "The arts and social life" are packed close with valuable information and suggestion. Yet it is a superstition of the reviewer that such things are the better for full-length treatment, and that ten volumes are more than ten times better than one for the consideration of these fields of human endeavor.

The reviewer would respectfully question whether on page 8 the date at which parliamentary acts and ordinances became invalid on the Restoration should not be 1642 rather than 1649, as Mr. Clark seems to say. Whether, in view of the agreement between Louis XIV and the States General for lowering the French tariff to the rates of 1664, the terms of the Treaty of Nymwegen were "harsh" to the Dutch (p. 86). Whether it is exact to describe Colbert's tariffs as "an all-round system of protection" (p. 86). And whether we can be sure that the balance of trade between England and France in the seventies was "adverse" to England (p. 87).

A co-operative history of the quality of this initial volume will abundantly justify the opinion of the publisher "that the time has come for a new full-scale survey of English history".

Vassar College. VIOLET BARBOUR.

Englische Geschichte im achtzehnten Jahrhundert. Von WOLFGANG MICHAEL. Band III, Teil 2, *Das Zeitalter Walpoles.* (Berlin: Verlag für Staatswissenschaften und Geschichte. 1934. Pp. xii, 598. 32 M.)

To appraise the volume before us we must consider briefly the larger work of which it is a part. Professor Michael published his first volume in 1896. In it he dealt with English history from the days of the Britons to the death of Queen Anne in something like four hundred pages; in four hundred pages additional he began a detailed study of events from the accession of the House of Hanover. This volume was reissued with a second volume of about six hundred pages in 1920. With this third volume, therefore, Herr Michael tells the story of the Hanoverian period, 1714–1727, in approximately sixteen hundred pages. An "adaptation" in English of Herr Michael's history of the reign of George I had just been announced for Mr. L. B. Namier.

The general form of all three volumes is the same. Except for a short introductory essay on source materials in the second volume, there is no bibliography. In all three volumes footnote citations are extremely brief. "R. O.", "W. St. A.", "AFF. etr.", without series or volume citations are the extent of archive references for documents. Citations of printed works are equally brief.

Much more than a history of England in the ordinary sense, this is a diplomatic history of Western Europe in the period which it covers. The great majority of the text deals with foreign affairs. Chapters on the internal history of England when they do not directly or indirectly relate to international affairs, are very brief, not to say unsatisfactory. There is no attempt whatever to deal with social history or with economic history except insofar as it concerns public finance. The point of view is always rigidly the official one; for Herr Michael, mankind begins with the baron.

Considering more immediately the volume before us, it is well and interestingly written. Its generalizations are sweeping, sometimes even dramatic. Sir Robert Walpole is the hero to a degree which would delight the filiopietistic soul of Horace. Stanhope is a secondary hero. George I, as a statesman and a man, is given a far cleaner bill of health than English historians usually accord him. The author, giving the Duke of Newcastle credit for little, is at least able to credit him with industry.

The main source bodies from which the work has been prepared are the Vienna archives, the Public Record Office, the Houghton MSS., and the Additional MSS., with special reference, of course, to the Newcastle Papers. Documentary source material in smaller amounts has been drawn from many other repositories; pamphlet, memoir, and correspondence material has been utilized in its due place.

Aside from diplomatic history, the most interesting thing in the volume

is an account of the South Sea Bubble which emphasizes its connections with John Law and the Mississippi Bubble but, as might be expected, confines the view altogether to that of public finance. On the side of diplomacy, chapters cover the end of the Northern War, the Congress of Cambrai, and the schemes of Ripperdá. Extensive quotations would have been more useful to scholars than the long résumés which are employed.

In the closing portion of his work, Herr Michael enters into the vexed question of king, council, and crown. Reacting from the fallacy that the first Hanoverian king was a figurehead, he goes perhaps too far in the opposite direction of assigning him almost the rôle of an absolute monarch. The real meaning of the phrase, "The King can do no wrong", escapes him. Otherwise his design of cabinet and privy council is based on a careful appraisal of facts.

The University of Illinois. THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.

Early Victorian England, 1830–1865. Edited by G. M. YOUNG. Two volumes. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xxv, 414; viii, 558. $14.00.)

ONE of the many compliments which may be paid this book is to say that it should be of the greatest value to conscientious film producers in Hollywood. Whether one wishes to view a ducal party partaking of an appalling number of *entrées,* roasts, and *entremets,* or a half-starved laborer's family supplementing its scanty supply of bread with the coffee grounds and dripping bestowed upon it by the charitable; whether one is curious about the meetings of a famous hunt or the festive public hanging of a notorious criminal; whether one wishes to sail with nabobs to India or with ailing and wailing Irish emigrants to America, almost every detail will be found in the book's seventeen close packed chapters and its generous supply of plates. And there are equally lifelike pictures of most of the classes which lay between the great extremes, the artisans, the merchants and manufacturers, the clerks, the artists, the soldiers and sailors. All the more striking is it that the professional and literary people are referred to only incidentally. The editor may feel that they have portrayed themselves sufficiently in literature; but the result is curious. Although it is pointed out that the influence exercised by preachers of the various denominations on all classes of the community was remarkable, the clergy receive only occasional mention; while the pre-Raphaelite painters have a whole section to themselves. But there is at least good reason for the emphasis laid on the lives of the governing classes and of the very poor. For it supplies a key to the brooding discontent and occasional violence of the masses, and to the corresponding *malaise* of the more fortunate, which pervaded the country for a generation before Victoria reached the throne, and for the better

part of a generation afterwards. And it brings out, too, the tasks which lay before the early Victorian Parliaments: of putting an end to the anarchy which prevailed in local government, and providing for better housing and cheaper food, for sanitation, poor relief, the honest administration of charities, and the more humane treatment of criminals. In no book has the sum total of these needs been set forth so concisely and so vividly.

The chapters, being the work of seventeen persons, are inevitably of uneven quality. It was naturally impossible to find persons who could speak on all the various fields with quite the authority possessed by Mr. J. H. Clapham on questions of work, wages, and life in the new towns; persons who could write with Mr. R. H. Mottram's peculiar lucidity and charm; or persons who could impart the dash and sparkle to their subjects which Mr. Basil Lubbock has done to the account of the mercantile marine. And some of the most distinguished were hardly at their best. One wonders whether the late Sir John Fortescue would not have revised his chapter on the army to give it more of the clear-cut and detached qualities so noticeable in Admiral Ballard's treatment of the fleet. But that is because one cannot forget what work Sir John could do. It seems rather invidious to particularize further; but one cannot resist noting the excellence of the chapters on architecture, on expansion and emigration, and on country life and sport. Nor can one refrain from asking why it is apparently so difficult for anyone to deal as satisfactorily with the press.

The editor contributes the last, the most ambitious and the most interesting chapter of them all, a synthesis and interpretation entitled the "Portrait of an Age". Only by quotations may any idea of its quality be given. "English society was poised on a double paradox which its critics, within and without, called hypocrisy. Its practical ideals were at odds with its religious professions, and its religious belief was at issue with its intelligence." The principal reason was this: "On one of its sides, Victorian history is the story of the English mind employing the energy imparted by Evangelical conviction to rid itself of the restraints which Evangelicanism had laid on the senses and the intellect; on amusement, enjoyment, art; on curiosity, on criticism, on science." Yet these early Victorians were incorrigible optimists. "But cynicism and superciliousness . . . were alien to the hopeful, if anxious, generation which had taken the future into its hands. In their exuberance and facility, the earlier Victorians . . . were nearer to the later Elizabethans; they were not ashamed; and, like the Elizabethans, their sense of the worth-whileness of everything—themselves, their age, and their country: what the Evangelicals called seriousness; the Arnoldians, earnestness; Bagehot, most happily, eagerness—overflowed in sentiment and invective, loud laughter, and sudden reproof." Contemporary Georgians as well as the aristocrats of Hollywood may possibly draw profit from this book. All students of social history will do so.

Perhaps it would have been too much to hope for even brief selective bibliographies; but it does seem a pity that so many of the chapters are entirely destitute of footnotes. The index is of unusual excellence.

Wesleyan University. HERBERT C. BELL.

The 1820 Settlers in South Africa: a Study in British Colonial Policy. By ISOBEL EIRLYS EDWARDS, M.A., Lecturer in History at the Training College, Swansea. [Royal Empire Society Imperial Studies, No. 9.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1934. Pp. ix, 207. $3.00.)

The Great Trek. By ERIC ANDERSON WALKER, M.A., F.R.H.S., King George V Professor of History in the University of Cape Town. [The Pioneer Histories, edited by V. T. Harlow and J. A. Williamson.] (London: A. and C. Black; New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. xii, 388. $5.00.)

IT is commonly believed that the relative success of the British as colonial administrators is due to some inborn racial characteristics, some flair, fostered by the special training in honesty, fair play, doggedness, given to Britain's ruling classes in the Great Public Schools and the older universities. There is probably something in this, but much more in long practice, an incorruptible public service, a free press, and an ability to be guided by experience—common sense, the British call it—rather than by philosophies. These two volumes throw considerable light on Britain's learning process in colonial administration, the development of common sense and, since the loss of the American colonies, the ability to change a policy before it is too late.

Dr. Edwards's *The 1820 Settlers in South Africa* is one of the studies published by the Royal Empire Society, three of which have dealt with South African affairs. It deals comprehensively with the little-known period of colonial history of the Liverpool government in England, illustrating the policy of colonial settlement for defense and security by the state assisted emigration scheme in the Albany district of South Africa. The failure of the settlement illustrates several lessons which the British have slowly learned. First, the impossibility of using settlers for protection against mobile cattle thieves with whom only equally mobile troops and police could cope; secondly, the unsuitability of using pastoral land such as that of the Eastern Cape Colony for closer settlement; thirdly, the folly of trying to stifle criticism of public affairs by an attempt at the suppression of the press; and, fourthly, the inevitability of failure when an autocratic, inexperienced government six thousand miles away attempts to govern British settlers without giving them an adequate means of expressing their views and wishes. The development of the policy of responsible government and

subsequently dominion status for the British dependencies was the result of such lessons as the failure of the Albany Settlement.

Dr. Edwards, whose book was a doctoral dissertation at the University of London, has done a fine piece of research in a small hitherto unexplored field. She has had access to the records of the home, colonial, and foreign offices and has carefully documented all her statements. She has presented her findings judiciously, and has been fair to all the parties concerned—the government, the settlers, and even the marauding African natives. A biblography, index, and three useful appendixes complete this model dissertation.

Professor Walker, today undoubtedly South Africa's leading historian, has written a book of a very different kind, though based on the same kind of careful research as that of Dr. Edwards. *The Great Trek* is a popular account of one of the most dramatic incidents in South African history, told in vigorous, picturesque language. The author has certainly succeeded in his aim—"If I have made the Trekkers and Governors and missionaries and chieftains and scallywags come to life again I shall have done what I set out to do." Yet the book is at the same time sound history, based on standard works, both in English and Afrikaans, supplemented by first-hand sources.

The causes of the Great Trek are set out under the four or six usual headings but they are summed up concisely by the author as "common to all [the Trekkers] were the need or desire for new land and a determination to live no longer in a colony where the divinely appointed colour bar was so flagrantly disregarded". There was much more behind the Trek than the mere abolition of slavery which is generally given as the cause of the exodus of twelve thousand white settlers from a colony where every white man counted so much. It was the usual misunderstanding of the local situation by the British in London and in Capetown, coupled with the wanderlust of the Boers and their determination to live the easy life of the pastoralist with black folk to do their bidding. The price in hardship of travel, constant fighting with warlike natives, serious quarrels among their leaders, that the Boers were prepared to pay for this free life, this *lekker lewe* (sweet living) as they called it, are set out dramatically in this delightful story.

Historical slips are not lacking, but what can one expect when the patient historical researcher steps aside to write a Macaulay history. These are, however, not serious and do not detract from a narrative, not unlike that of the Mormons and Forty-niners of this country, of what was and still is the central event in the history of European man in Southern Africa.

Yale University. CHARLES T. LORAM.

Franz Joseph and Bismarck: the Diplomacy of Austria before the War of 1866. By CHESTER WELLS CLARK, Assistant Professor of History in Princeton University. [Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. XXXVI.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1934. Pp. xv, 635. $5.00.)

THE history of the Austro-Prussian struggle for the hegemony of Germany has been written chiefly from the Prussian documents if not always from the Prussian point of view. Professor Clark's admirable book, based upon a wealth of new material from the archives of Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, and Baden, illumines the hitherto obscure rôle of Austrian diplomacy. He has combed the familiar sources, including the published French documents, with a thoroughness quite up to the standard set by the earlier publications of the "Harvard Historical Studies" in diplomatic history. From an abundant documentation, he has fashioned a well-written and penetrating book that is an important contribution to a difficult subject. Its introductory chapters review some of the ground covered in Steefel's *Schleswig-Holstein Question* since its main theme begins with the Austro-Prussian alliance of January, 1864, but there is little threshing of old straw thanks to the use of the Austrian documents. With the controversies over the eventual disposition of the Duchies the author strikes his full stride.

His claim to have thrown new light "upon almost every phase of Austria's relations with her German neighbors and the powers during these years" is borne out by his performance. Contrary to the usual view, Austria's policy in the Duchies adhered strictly to her engagements. To the Prussian point of view, however, her middle of the road course between the Prussian and the Augustenburg parties seemed definitely hostile to its interests. Nor is Von Sybel's thesis, to which many recent German historians have returned, that Bismark more than once opened the door to a peaceful arrangement with Austria more accurate, for the memoranda upon which it is based were intended to win King William's support for Bismarck's annexationist and anti-Austrian policy. His offers of a money payment were never acceptable to Austria, and he promptly drew back when territorial compensations in Silesia or elsewhere were suggested. On the other hand, Austria was willing to withdraw in return for satisfactory terms, to the embarrassment of her relations with the *Mittelstaaten*. One of the contributions of this study is its analysis of the position of these lesser states between the two great German powers and of the policies of Beust and Pfordten. Probably little remains to be added to the author's account of the Convention of Gastein, of Mensdorff's policy in the spring of 1866, which approached Bismarck's in scope but scarcely in resourcefulness, or of Gablenz's peace offensive on the eve of the Austro-Prussian War.

Professor Clark's sympathetic but critical analysis of Austria's policy, which was essentially Franz Joseph's, carries conviction. One leaves it with

a definite impression of her military, financial, and political weakness at home, of procrastination at favorable moments and of rash decisions under inauspicious circumstances and of divided counsels among her ministers and officials at the *Ballplatz*. Biegeleben, a permanent official of the foreign office, was one of the few who saw the need to satisfy Italy by the voluntary cession of Venetia and for an alliance with France if Austria's historic position in Germany were to be maintained against Bismarck's ambitions. But Franz Joseph dreamed of recovering Austria's former predominance in Italy and no Austrian statesman thought of pledging German territory to France as the price of a coalition against Prussia. "We were very honorable", confessed the emperor, "but very stupid." He clung to the illusion that Prussia might become a loyal ally until it was too late for an effective defense.

The intentional omission of the *Grossdeutsch* and *Kleindeutsch* controversy eliminates from this study a fundamental factor of the German problem. Public opinion, however, receives considerable attention, especially in connection with the Austrian government's failure to instruct and guide it. The author is of course in respectable company in formulating positive views as to its reactions almost exclusively from official documents. Without a careful examination of the newspapers and other direct sources, it is risky, nevertheless, to say without reservation that the "Austrian people were trying to drag an unwilling monarch and foreign minister into the struggle". The reviewer agrees, in general, with the author's return to a more critical view of Bismarck's policy, but such statements as that which attributes the Austro-Prussian War to "Bismarck's need for immediate victories" require more support than they have been given.

Duke University. E. Malcolm Carroll.

The Life of Joseph Chamberlain. By J. L. Garvin. Volume III, *1895–1900: Empire and World Policy.* (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. ix, 632. $6.00.)

"Lord Salisbury, without directly saying so, clearly conveyed by glances and manner that in Chamberlain he had to deal with a headstrong man who knows neither moderation nor restraint, who rushes at whatever he desires in politics, and is hard to hold." This is the impression of the German ambassador in England after an interview with the British prime minister; it is likewise that of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador; it is likewise that made upon the reviewer after reading this voluminous and carefully documented book focused on just six years of Chamberlain's life.

Had Mr. Garvin drawn similar deductions from his own detailed evidence the third volume of this biography would rank in quality with the first two. Unfortunately he has not done so: there is no indication that

the author realized that Chamberlain constantly usurped authority, that he tried to monopolize the foreign office as well as the colonial, that he embarrassed the sagacious Salisbury by hot and heady speeches, that he was instrumental, more than any man, with the possible exception of Rhodes and Kruger, in plunging Britain into the South African War. On the contrary Mr. Garvin defends his hero through thick and thin, loses his historical perspective, and, what is very rare for him, forgets to be magnanimous to the enemy.

South African affairs, with particular reference to the Jameson Raid, are analyzed in minute detail, and Mr. Garvin's evidence here is so damning that one must examine it closely. Let us consider three lines of evidence. The first is an interview recorded between Lady Lugard and Chamberlain. The colonial secretary said:

"You put me on my honor. Very well. The fact is I can hardly say what I knew and what I did not. I did not want to know too much. Of course I knew of the precautions, the preparations, if you like, in view of the expected trouble in Johannesburg, but I never could have imagined that Jameson would take the bit between his teeth.

Then you did not know about the Raid?

I did not."

The second line of evidence is a letter written by Chamberlain to the permanent undersecretary of state for the colonies. It suggests that one of his subordinates make clear to an agent of Rhodes that "the responsibility must rest with Rhodes and we had better abstain even from giving advice . . .". Responsibility for what? Quite evident is meant an uprising in the Transvaal.

The third line of evidence is a sheaf of missing telegrams sent to Rhodes from London and withheld at the parliamentary inquiry. One reads thus: "You are aware that Chamberlain states that Dr. Jameson's plan must not be mentioned to him."

This cumulative evidence it is difficult for anyone (except Mr. Garvin) to explain away. It is only fair to him, and to Chamberlain, to acknowledge that the latter made every effort to turn Jameson back, once he had started on his mad enterprise, and to assume that Chamberlain had not the slightest idea that an armed foray would be made into a friendly state, unless actual rebellion was in progress there endangering British lives. To that extent he knew nothing of the Raid. But he did know that an uprising was planned in the Transvaal; he must have suspected that Rhodes had planned this uprising; and yet he gave permission to Rhodes to place his police force on the border from whence it might rush on Johannesburg in event of any serious disturbance in that city. Nevertheless, says Mr. Garvin, "he had not a shadow of complicity with the Raid".

To secure reform by peaceful means was not impossible. Directly before

the Raid a diplomatic victory was won when Kruger opened up commerce between the Cape and the South African Republic. Kruger was an extraordinarily difficult man with whom to deal, and fault lay on both sides. One doubts, however, if Chamberlain really wanted a peaceful solution. Notice this sentence in a letter which he sent in 1899 in regard to the terms of the British ultimatum: "If and when we ask for more it means war. . . ." In other words he did not play fair with the Boers; he demanded as much as he dared in view of British opinion, but he intended to demand more. What it was is evident—the end of independence for the Transvaal.

A disservice to Joseph Chamberlain has been done in this book. It would have been better to have acknowledged frankly that Chamberlain was in error, so zealous to accomplish worthy ends that he stooped too low to attain them. Had Mr. Garvin written thus this volume would be more worthy of its author.

Princeton University. WALTER PHELPS HALL.

Das englisch-japanische Bündnis von 1902: Die Grundlegung der Ententepolitik im Fernosten. Von Dr. PAUL MINRATH. [Beiträge zur Geschichte der nachbismarckischen Zeit und des Weltkriegs, Heft 20.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. 1934. Pp. ix, 112. 5.40 M.)

DR. Minrath's carefully documented study is concerned quite as much with the European as with the Asiatic origins and implications of the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The Russian advance in Manchuria, to which the Germans, seeking to ease the pressure from Russia in Europe, lent encouragement, menaced British commercial interests in China and seemed likely, ultimately, to render insecure the British political position in India. Great Britain, however, was unwilling to wage war in defense of the Open Door; she looked instead for a "friend" able and willing to fight her battle for her. The aftermath of the Anglo-German agreement of October 16, 1900, indicated very clearly that Germany was not such a friend. Among the Japanese, on the other hand, was an active faction which regarded as inevitable a conflict with Russia over the questions of Manchuria and Korea. This faction, including particularly Hayashi, Kato, and Komura, turned to Britain for aid in preventing a repetition of the intervention of 1895. Ito, however, favored peace based upon mutual accommodation with Russia. He was prepared to allow Russia a free hand in Manchuria provided Korea were left exclusively to Japan. While not opposed to an alliance with the British, he insisted that such an alliance be used primarily to force a peaceful settlement with the Russians. From the British point of view, Ito's scheme would close both Korea and Manchuria to British enterprise, and would undermine as well the entire British position in China. Lansdowne sought, therefore, to prevent, at all costs, an agreement between Russia and

Japan. The result was the famous treaty of 1902, hastily concluded while Ito was being politely entertained in St. Petersburg.

Dr. Minrath considers at some length the effect of the Anglo-Japanese agreement upon Germany's diplomatic position. Holstein had believed that Russian pressure would automatically force Britain, sooner or later, to seek an alliance with Germany. Both the Yangtze agreement of 1900 and the German pledge of neutrality in the event of war between Russia and Japan had appeared to be steps in this direction. The major significance of the Anglo-Japanese agreement lay in the fact that it definitely removed the need, on the part of Britain, for such an understanding with the Germans. Thus perished the hope of a German-English-Japanese combination which, according to the optimistic judgment of the author, might easily have dominated the world.

The author has used all of the available documentary material in English and German. Of the Japanese material, he has made use only of Hayashi's somewhat fragmentary memoirs. A definitive study of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance will require attention to the following works, all of which, unfortunately for most American scholars, are in Japanese: *Kato Takaaki Den,* a comprehensive two-volume biography of Count Kato, published in 1929; *Ito Hirobumi Hiroku,* the secret memoirs of Prince Ito, in two volumes, which appeared in 1929–1930; *Yamagata Aritomo Ko Den,* a voluminous three-volume biography of Prince Yamagata, privately published in 1932; and possibly also Viscount Ishii's *Gaiko Yoroku,* or "Diplomatic Memoirs", published in 1930.

The University of Washington. R. T. Pollard.

La crise européenne et la Grande Guerre, 1904–1918. By Pierre Renouvin, professeur à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris, conservateur à la Bibliothèque-Musée de la Guerre. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1934. Pp. 639. 60 fr.)

This volume is the first comprehensive history of the World War, including the decade of crisis culminating in its outbreak, that can be regarded as a serious attempt to achieve real synthesis. Numerous studies and monographic collections of great value have been published, as well as a variety of general histories, of which the most important have emphasized the military aspects of the struggle. Professor Renouvin has completed a broad survey where the details, whether political, social, economic, diplomatic, military, or naval, are inscribed as points of reference without blurring the comprehensive picture. That picture is made to include political details of events in North and South America, as well as in the Far East, which affected the situation in Europe. Because of the necessities of space the style is pragmatic, and interpretative conclusions are stated rather than

argued. The result is by no means an arid chronicle. Facts are assembled so effectively and follow each other so naturally that the reader is brought to his own interpretation, generally without realizing that it is also the author's, who has skillfully if unobtrusively guided him there. It is synthesis in the finest French manner.

Professor Renouvin divides his field, extending from the negotiation of the Anglo-French entente in 1904 to the armistice of Rethondes in 1918, into three periods. The first is that of immediate prewar diplomacy. The second covers the so-called "first war", through the year 1916. The third begins with the intervention of the United States and closes with German defeat. Within each part of the work the author's method is a combination of the topical and chronological. The first book, devoted to the immediate origins of the conflict, inseparable according to Professor Renouvin from the war itself, is divided into nine chapters. They begin with a brief explanation of national politics in each of the European states and a general survey of international rivalries and contacts, with due emphasis upon intellectual relationships, the international rôle of socialism, and the Catholic Church. A chapter on the crises of 1905–1906 and of 1908 is followed by brief studies of political and social developments in each of the important states from 1905 until 1911. Thereafter the author follows mainly the international avenue of approach to the crisis of 1914, with chapters on Agadir and the Balkan wars, referring in his chapters on domestic politics mainly to factors that affected the foreign situation. This portion of the book concludes with a twenty-page summary of the crisis of July, 1914.

The second book, covering the war through the year 1916, is composed of ten chapters of which three are devoted primarily to military operations, the others to explanation of the interacting political, economic, and diplomatic factors. Only those students who have attempted to arrange war materials and have debated with themselves the relative merits of a topical or chronological scheme can appreciate the skill with which the author has combined the two, breaking his sequence unavoidably in order to achieve comprehensiveness but never failing to pick up the trail before his reader is lost. Following a survey of the balance of forces at the moment the war began, he traces successively the campaigns of 1914, the enlargement of the alliances, the new economic and moral conditions resulting from the failure to achieve an early decision, the military and diplomatic aspects of the struggle in 1915, and the *guerre d'usure* with its bloody and fruitless exemplification in the campaigns of 1916. This portion of the work concludes with chapters upon the war-weariness of the peoples and the peace offers of December, 1916.

The third book is entitled "L'intervention américaine et le dénouement". The phraseology of the title indicates the degree of importance, in a political and military sense, attributed by the author to American intervention. He

begins with an exposition of the factors that brought the United States into the war, as an offset to the Russian collapse. There follows a chapter upon the military stalemate of 1917 and the secret peace negotiations. A third chapter details the apparent rupture of the equilibrium by the Italian defeat and the open withdrawal of Russia, leading up to chapters upon preparations for the campaign of 1918, the last great German offensives and their repulse. The book concludes with a brief account of the victorious Allied offensive in the summer and early autumn of 1918 and the negotiation of the armistice. A final ten-page essay summarizes the more obvious effects of the war upon political institutions, upon social and economic conditions, and upon national emotions.

Because of his skill in arrangement, his sense of proportion, and his meticulous care in the matter of detail, Professor Renouvin has protected himself thoroughly from the conventional criticism ordinarily poured upon a work of synthesis. The minor inaccuracies that can be picked up are few in the extreme. In his treatment of contentious issues which have little or no national bearing, especially those touching upon the conduct of the war, he has been careful to provide an objective and interpretative description of the situation without taking sides. The *guerre d'usure* he apparently regards as forced upon the Entente. In discussing Entente plans of campaign he shows no favor to either "Easterners" or "Westerners". He exposes with explanatory but no condemnatory comment the political struggles of admiralties, boards of trade, and foreign offices over methods of maritime control. The possibility of a negotiated peace in 1916 he barely considers; in each camp, he points out, "the idea of a *paix blanche* is not thought of in government circles; in both, policy was annexionist". Rather too unconcernedly, in the reviewer's opinion, but entirely in the spirit of the French government of 1916, he passes rapidly over Wilson's offer to intervene on the side of the Allies if Germany refused peace negotiations and "reasonable" terms. When he comes to American intervention in 1917 he gives careful consideration to the allegation that Wilson merely used the submarine blockade as a pretext for a participation which he secretly desired because of his pro-English sentiments, the influence of Wall Street, and a belligerent press. His conclusion is, quite rightly, that there is no need of accepting an interpretation based upon guesses or political preoccupations when documentary evidence is available. Wilson was persuaded to accept the idea of war by Germany's decision to use the submarine without restrictions; he was pushed into it by the American man in the street whose trade was threatened by a submarine blockade and whose emotions were aroused by the Zimmermann note. "If it had not been for the unrestricted submarine warfare the United States would not have entered the struggle; this is the conclusion suggested by the facts."

In his treatment of contentious issues that have a national bearing Profes-

sor Renouvin is apparently perfectly objective and disarmingly persuasive in his obvious unwillingness to enter debate. But we cannot avoid the fact that in writing the history of the outbreak and ending of the war and in considering the meaning of the war, he is on debatable ground. Critical comment upon his interpretations must be based not upon what any historian can assert to be loose or unreasonable interpretative method, but simply upon the inevitable differences in point of view existing among French, German, British, or American historians in their study of this period. Professor Renouvin merely betrays his background as an American or German critic would betray his.

In the earlier part of his volume, devoted to the origins of the war, the author is careful to disclaim any idea of entering into polemics in the matter of "war guilt" or "responsibility". But whatever his intention he must reach a conclusion, and although this is one which will be approved by many students, the reviewer included, it will never receive universal acceptance. His convictions are evidently the same as when he wrote *The Immediate Origins of the War* and he cannot avoid placing major responsibility upon the Central Powers. Psychological factors and competitive armaments he regards as symptoms of unhealthy political conditions rather than direct causes of war. Economic factors would certainly have not pushed the Entente toward war and the author has found no evidence that they exercised a tendency toward belligerency in Germany. All such factors are insufficient to explain the outbreak of war; they are merely elements, he insists, in the general evolution of political relations between state and state where the cause of war must be sought. They nourish a condition of disquietude which is unfavorable to a pacific solution of any crisis. Professor Renouvin does not conceal his belief that Germany, more than any other state, was responsible for this condition of disquietude. "This conviction of Germany that war must come and that an early war offered better chance of success than a deferred war, is the element that dominates international relations of the moment." That the crisis of 1914 might have been peacefully resolved, like that of 1909, he believes to be obvious. The chance of peace was lost, he insists, through the determination of the Central Powers to impose their concerted program upon Europe even though they realized the serious risk of a general war. "No one would deny that Serb nationalism was often turbulent and dangerous, that Russian policy was imprudent and at times disquieting. But if it had not been for the firm determination of Germany and Austria-Hungary, there would have been no war."

As regards the ending of the war the author gives short shrift to the German thesis that German armies, undefeated, were lured to surrender by Entente promises, later unfulfilled, couched in seductive Wilsonian phrases. He emphasizes the hysterical demands of Ludendorff that the German

appeal for an armistice be sent out without delay; and demonstrates that even if Ludendorff exaggerated the military danger of the German armies he himself prepared the debacle by starting the wave of panic at Berlin. Professor Renouvin reminds us that Prince Max notified Hindenburg that the overhasty appeal for an armistice might lead to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and the Polish provinces of the East. The author might have added, on the testimony of the Chancellor's memoirs, that before accepting the Fourteen Points Prince Max wished to define publicly his understanding of them, lest Germany later suffer in their interpretation, but was prevented for fear that the armistice appeal might fail. The Germans were ready to take their chance on the Fourteen Points if only fighting could be stopped. What Professor Renouvin does not emphasize is the fact that by his handling of the German appeal Wilson almost certainly shortened the war by several months. It is now reasonably clear that during the first week of October, Entente leaders hoped that Wilson would refuse the German appeal; he was certainly under strong pressure in Washington to return a refusal. Such a refusal would have led to the last-ditch stand planned by Prince Max. Foch himself would not promise how long it might take to invade Germany or to compel surrender in the field. By entering the negotiation and by his skillful development of it, Wilson secured in November as complete a surrender as Foch could have secured through a continuation of his victorious advance. We have it on Foch's own testimony. The author gives full credit to the importance of American arms and industry, but rather less than that deserved to American diplomacy.

The clearest indication of basic difference in national points of view is found in the fact that this volume stops with the armistice and does not include any chapters upon the history of the Peace Conference. Such an arrangement is natural and perhaps useful in the case of specialized military or diplomatic studies where the armistice marks a convenient boundary. In the case of a comprehensive history it implies a philosophic interpretation. The omission of the Peace Conference is a reasoned one and defended by the author: "With the 'Peace Conference'", writes Professor Renouvin, "another period opens, dominated by separate interests: this 'peace settlement' is the necessary preface to the study of post-war conditions." For a Frenchman the war ends with the military defeat of Germany and the imposition by the armistice of conditions that would make it impossible (if these conditions were capitalized) for Germany to threaten French security. For an American the war does not end until President Wilson's failure to inaugurate a new world system becomes manifest, partially by the compromises of Versailles, finally and completely by the separate peace treaty with Germany.

Such a difference in points of view is vital, for upon it depends the

historian's conception of the war. Was it merely another trial of strength between the European nations, into which the United States was adventitiously drawn, the issue of which could be set forth in military, economic, and territorial terms? Or was it in reality an attempt to achieve a new world order? Unless it were the latter, the weight of the American contribution to the Allied victory and the position of leadership assumed by Wilson, upon which Professor Renouvin lays great emphasis, are difficult to understand. Protection of American commerce and lives from the submarine was, as he insists, the primary and immediate cause of the declaration of war of April 6, 1917. But the ultimate American purpose, as it developed in the succeeding eighteen months, was far larger than the military defeat of Germany. "We whipped Germany", wrote General Bliss, "not for the mere sake and pleasure of whipping her, but in order to destroy an iniquitous system and to bring about a better condition in the world." If such was the main issue of the war its history was not done until the issue was decided, until by reason of Wilson's failure to reach an understanding with the Senate it became clear that America was about to withdraw completely from European politics and that the League of Nations was not to operate as had been intended. From this point of view, to write the history of the war without including the Peace Conference and its immediate aftermath would be to write the story of the Napoleonic era and omit Waterloo.

Yale University. CHARLES SEYMOUR.

The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1918: Documents and Materials. By JAMES BUNYAN and H. H. FISHER. [Hoover War Library Publications, No. 3.] (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1934. Pp. xii, 735. $6.00.)

THIS solid tome is a searchlight exposure of many of the crannies (some known but hitherto dark, some quite unexpected) of the first six months of the Bolshevik Revolution. Like its predecessor, Frank Golder's *Documents of the Russian Revolution, 1914–1917*, it tells the story in the language of documents, which are supplemented and correlated by summaries of events in the form of skillful editorial notes. The scope of the documentation presented indicates once more the immense value of the Hoover War Library collections at Stanford. The sources, selected with extreme care for validity, include official records, archives, party resolutions, governmental decrees, collected works of Bolshevik leaders along with their correspondence, memoirs and diaries, telephone conversations recorded by the participants, the daily press, eyewitness accounts, as well as the reports of foreigners who happened to live through the stirring days, or who conducted negotiations with the Bolsheviks, such as Brest Litovsk.

If one were forced to pick out the peculiar excellence of this volume for

the historian it would be the editors' references in footnotes to contradictory accounts of particular episodes which appear elsewhere than in the source cited in the text. For instance (p. 99), the editorial summary quotes the Bolshevik press regarding Kerensky's departure at 11:30 A. M., November 7, but the footnotes give Kerensky's own account, along with statements by the American ambassador, D. R. Francis. A similar instance is the presentation of various accounts of Krylenko's rôle in the murder of General Dukhonin (p. 269).

The condensed summaries give continuity to the documents, making the narrative the most complete which has thus far appeared. Because of this impartial completeness the volume is perhaps even more valuable as a reference work than Trotsky's great history. The index contains very welcome biographical information; the chronological table at the end reinforces the pegs upon which both the documents and the editorial summaries are hung. It remains to be said, however, that the study of the Russian Revolution would have been even more excellently served had our colleagues Bunyan and Fisher gathered all their sources into a complete bibliography for the guidance of those not privileged with access to the Hoover War Library.

In the preface Dr. Fisher writes: "We have not made our selections for the purpose of upholding any theory of history in general or of the Bolshevik revolution in particular, beyond the general notion that it is not the first revolution in human history and possibly not the last." Insofar as there is selection it is apparent in the desire to reproduce only the essential. With that in view the editors present much overlooked material as to the dissension amongst the Bolsheviks regarding the moment for insurrection, the lack of resistance by the Kerensky government, the "counter-attack", etc. University students will find particular value in chapters VIII-X, dealing with the struggle against the separatist nationalities, Brest Litovsk, and the fundamental party resolutions and government decrees which led to nationalization, socialization, and the consolidation of the dictatorship.

Excerpts from diaries are of commanding interest. For instance, in showing the difficulties of building a new administration from scratch with inexperienced personnel, the authors (p. 186) select from Pestkovsky's *Recollections* (1922), in which he tells of visiting Smolny immediately after November 7. He was taken to a room in which Comrade Menzhinsky lounged on a sofa, directly under a sign "The Peoples' Commissariat of Finance". Pestkovsky casually revealed to Menzhinsky that he had spent his student days at the Univ[illegible]y of London, and among other subjects had studied finance while th[illegible] He continues: "Menzhinsky suddenly arose, fixed his eyes upon me, a[illegible]gorically declared: 'In that case we shall make you director of the State [illegible]ank.' . . . I was frightened and answered . . . that I had no desire to hold the position, since it was entirely outside my line.

Saying nothing Menzhinsky asked me to wait . . . and then returned with a paper signed by Ilich (Lenin) on which it was stated that I was director of the State Bank. I became even more dumfounded, and began to beg Menzhinsky to revoke the appointment, but he remained inflexible on this point." Such bits of narrative by participants in the revolution, in which this book abounds, make "rattling good history".

Harvard University. BRUCE HOPPER.

Curzon: the Last Phase, 1919–1925. A Study in Post-War Diplomacy. By HAROLD NICOLSON. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1934. Pp. xvi, 416. $4.50.)

IN this volume Harold Nicolson completes the trilogy begun with *Lord Carnock: a Study in the Old Diplomacy* and continued in *Peacemaking 1919*. The three constitute an attempt to delineate, explain, and appraise British diplomacy from 1870 to 1924.

Lord Curzon became acting foreign secretary in January, 1919, but did not assume full responsibility until in October of that year, after the retirement of Balfour. The four years of his tenure at the foreign office, Nicolson declares, "will long remain a problem for the political theorist. Here was a man possessed of great intelligence, of flaming energy, of clear ideals, of unequalled knowledge, of wide experience: to this man was granted an opportunity such as falls seldom to any modern statesman; and yet, although in almost every event his judgment was correct and his vision enlightened, British policy under his guidance declined from the very summit of authority to a level of impotence such as, since the Restoration, it has seldom reached" (pp. 4–5). Four possible explanations are considered: "that the responsibility for failure must rest, not with Lord Curzon, but with Mr. Lloyd George"; that the failure "was due, not to the errors or policies of individual statesmen, but to a general collapse in the national will"; that the period was "one of transition from aristocratic to democratic diplomacy, and that this transitional phase brought out the vices of both systems and the virtues of neither"; that the failure was due to some defect in temperament, some flaw in Curzon's character and mind (pp. 5–6). Nicolson holds that each of these explanations contains an element of truth, but that none of them furnishes a complete solution of the problem. Suggesting, but without explicitly asserting, that the chaos and complexity of the time were "beyond the capacity of any single human brain either to conceive or to control" (p. 6), he proceeds to try to explain, not why things happened, but how they happened as they did.

Even with this restriction in the scope of his undertaking, the author is at once confronted with the necessity of starting with an explanation of Curzon's character, faith, and temperament. This he gives in a remarkable passage of twenty-five pages (pp. 6–31). It is a pen portrait which must

enhance the already high reputation of its author as one of the most vivid, brilliant, and penetrating delineators of personal characteristics. His description of Curzon, the man, is impressive, even if one at some points feels compelled to question its accuracy. To him Curzon was not, as to Lord D'Abernon and many other highly competent observers, above all else, an eighteenth century aristocrat, but a patrician who was "also a late Victorian of the upper middle class" (p. 10), one whose convictions were acquired early in life and never really modified, despite travel, study, and varied experience such as seldom falls to the lot of any man. Curzon's rigidity of manner, a trait which explains much in his career, Nicolson thinks, was due largely to a physical infirmity. His unswerving confidence in the beneficence of British imperialism rested upon the belief "that God had selected the British Empire as an instrument of Divine purpose" (p. 14). In political life Curzon failed to achieve his ambition, the premiership, because he was an administrator, not a politician, and because of a lack of a sense of proportion. His failure was tragic, for he had qualities of heart and mind and a capacity for work which entitled him to expect to attain his goal.

As Lloyd George was prime minister during all but the last few months of Curzon's tenure at the foreign office, it is not surprising that British foreign policy at that time was guided far more by Lloyd George than by Curzon. The surprising thing is that Curzon submitted, not merely to subordination, but to humiliations by the acts of his chief which might well have driven even a less sensitive man to resignation, as the only means of saving his self-respect. The explanation is not to be found altogether in Curzon's desire to continue in office, but to his lack of interest in European questions and his absorption in Asiatic affairs. There were always Asiatic problems to the fore or on the horizon in which he was deeply interested and believed that he understood in a way which made his continuance in office a patriotic duty. Chapter five brings out in striking fashion that Curzon met with ignominious failure in handling the Persian problem, despite his prodigious knowledge about Persia, his manifold claims upon the gratitude and confidence of that country, and the free hand he was allowed in dealing with it. While he was at the foreign office Persia turned her back upon England.

Among the most distinctive and valuable chapters in the book are those dealing with the Greek and Turkish problems. Nicolson makes very clear that Curzon brought with him to the foreign office a plan formulated a year earlier, which if it had been promptly considered and pushed by the British delegation at Paris might have been adopted by the victorious Allies and at that stage could have been imposed upon the Turks, thereby averting the tragedy of the Greek adventure and debacle in Asia Minor. But that was not to be. While the Allies procrastinated, Turkish nationalism sprang to life and triumphed at terrible cost to the Greeks, who suffered from their

own errors, greediness, and dissensions and from lack of support by the Allies. The account of this complicated matter is a model of lucidity; the appraisal as to responsibility is eminently fair. The reviewer, however, doubts the soundness of Nicolson's version of the outcome, especially as regards the Lausanne conference. On that subject Nicolson writes as a personal observer serving under Curzon. His account is interesting and valuable, but loyalty to his chief appears to have led him into taking an unduly complacent view as to what Curzon actually accomplished on that occasion.

Errors of fact are few. Among them it is surprising to find the late Senator Hitchcock represented as opposing ratification of the Treaty of Versailles (p. 111). The literary style is admirable. To the reviewer the book seems much the best of the trilogy.

Dartmouth College. FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Egypt since Cromer. By LORD LLOYD. Volume II. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. viii, 418. $7.50.)

WITH this second volume Lord Lloyd concludes his account of Egypt since the time of Cromer. The whole constitutes a remarkable piece of historical writing, surpassing in several respects Lord Cromer's own notable *Modern Egypt,* long regarded as a prime example of contemporary history. In writing of his long administration, Cromer, an untrammeled and successful proconsul, faced a less onerous task than Lloyd, who as high commissioner was scarcely more than the none-too-willing instrument of successive British foreign secretaries. Cromer, moreover, labored and wrote in an age of unlimited faith in the benefits of British institutions as applied to Egypt during the occupation. Lord Lloyd, on the contrary, has been faced with the tremendous task of rationalizing British control of Egypt in a time of doubt and disillusionment regarding not only the proper nature and extent of British control in that country but even the very principles on which that control was founded. One note, however, is common to both works. Lord Lloyd is convinced, as was his great predecessor, that "hostility to Britain was incompatible with Egyptian progress" (p. 169).

In this volume, which deals with the period between the Milner Commission of 1920 and the failure of the Nahas Mission ten years later, Lord Lloyd delves deeply into the causes of Egyptian unrest and vacillating British policy. He professes to have no lack of confidence in popular government as developed and applied in Great Britain, but he is firmly convinced of the unwisdom of attempting to establish the same political principles in a land possessing so many fundamental differences. The popular mandate he believes to be illusory in Egypt, where the masses do not in the least understand or care about politics and can readily be swayed by a few professional

agitators. The refusal of the British government to recognize this basic fact in its "prevalent desire to get rid of responsibilities which superficially appear to bring no material profit" he believes to be responsible for the riots and bloodshed in Egypt and elsewhere in the Near East during the last fifteen years. "In all these countries", he insists, "the real problem has been administrative and we have chosen to regard it as political." The story of Anglo-Egyptian relations during these years is, in fine, that of an empire which has lost the desire to do good in its eagerness to slough off responsibilities for which its statesmen are no longer great enough. This thesis he finds illustrated again and again in the British "retreat" after 1920, and he spares no essential in the sordid account of misunderstanding, bickering, and violence in which the British government, sometimes at the instance of its representative in Egypt but more frequently without, made one concession after another in the vain hope of pacifying the demands of Egyptian extremists, never realizing that each surrender was taken as the promise of others to come. A more significant example could scarcely be found of the fruits of imperial neglect and preoccupation elsewhere.

Lord Lloyd believes that even after the Milner Report had largely destroyed the defenses along the British front, the essentials of good administration and safety for British interests might still have been saved by consistent adherence to the Declaration of 1922, which asserted the determination to "maintain as an essential British interest the special relations between itself and Egypt long recognized by other Governments". The overhasty establishment of the Egyptian Kingdom, the unwise gestures of the inexperienced Labor government toward the Wafd, successive modifications of the ultimatum issued upon the assassination of the sirdar, untimely overtures for a treaty covering the four reserved points of 1922, the condoning of violence, and rank inconsistencies in the treatment of Zaghlul Pasha and other insurgents demonstrate all too conclusively the inability of the British foreign office to comprehend Oriental psychology and raise serious doubts even in the mind of such a loyal critic as Lord Lloyd of the fitness of a socialistic state to maintain a dependent empire.

While his condemnation of the useless sacrifice of years of hard and consistent work in Egypt is fervent, the author's criticisms are singularly free from animus, even where the record of his own administration is at stake. In chapter XVIII, however, he frankly assumes a subjective rôle as his only means of answering "charges more damaging than have ever been publicly brought without examination against a servant of the Crown in any responsible position" on the basis of which he was summarily recalled from Egypt by Arthur Henderson in 1929. While the evidence cited appears amply to sustain Lord Lloyd's contention of unjust treatment, the reviewer can only deplore the need of employing what is otherwise so admirable a piece of objective writing as a means of personal defense.

Egypt since Cromer is excellently constructed. The author has shown particular skill in incorporating portions of essential documents in his narrative, thus giving the whole a high specific gravity. The inclusion of the dates of documents cited in text and appendixes would have added to their value. So authoritative and timely a work can scarcely fail of having a material influence on British policy in Egypt at least until agreement is reached on the four reservations of 1922.

Tufts College. HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India. By DANIEL HOUSTON BUCHANAN, Ph.D., D.Sc. (Econ.), Professor of Economics in Fisk University, Sometime Professor of Economics in Keiogijuku University, Tokyo. [Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. ix, 497. $5.00.)

DR. BUCHANAN is well equipped to write this history of the Industrial Revolution in India. He spent about sixteen months studying the problem at first hand and nearly a decade steeping himself in monograph and government records. He also lived for nine years in Japan and is therefore able to compare the economic progress of the two most highly industrialized countries in Asia.

His book covers in part the same ground as Mrs. Vera Anstey's work on *The Economic Development of India* (2d ed., London, 1931), but the method of treatment is different and there is a considerable amount of new material. He has a slight bias in favor of the Indians while she leans toward the British. He gives a mass of details, but does not allow them to blur the outline of his story; she fills her pages with facts and figures which are useful to the specialist, but are apt to be a source of discouragement to the general reader. They are both interested in labor problems, economic organization, the development of large scale industries, and the defects of the managing agency system. There are, however, some important divergencies. He devotes more attention to the indigenous economy, the plantation system, unorganized industries, and the actual transition to the machine age, while she is more concerned with agriculture, irrigation, the co-operative movement, and the problems of currency, finance, and banking.

Dr. Buchanan believes that India's industrial development was long hampered by the fact that the British officials "were nearly all men of aristocratic background who not only knew nothing about business, but openly despised it", whereas India really needed "practical rulers determined and able to adapt the new industrial technique to the use of her people" (p. 458). He criticizes Great Britain's laissez-faire policy and

evidently feels that so far as India was concerned it was determined by selfish considerations rather than by loyalty to the doctrine of free trade. "The Japanese are about two generations in advance of India" because they have been able to control their own fiscal policy. There have been anomalies in their protective system, but it has "worked" (p. 471). He also questions the commonly accepted view that labor conditions in the cotton mills are worse in Japan than they are in India (p. 227). If he is right about this, it is difficult to understand why India needs both a high tariff and a quota system to protect herself against Japanese competition. His answer seems to be that "the Japanese work harder" and their "management and working force are more efficient".

There are many other interesting features of the book which cannot be discussed in the limits of this review. The history of the labor movement is well told, including the activities of Mr. Gandhi, Mr. C. F. Andrews, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. F. J. Ginwala, and Miss Anasuya Sarabhai, the daughter of a wealthy millowner, who organized a successful labor union in Ahmedabad. There is a good account of the European plantation industries (indigo, coffee, tea, and rubber) and numerous references to the racial distribution of industry, for example, the predominance of the Scotch in jute, the Parsees in cotton, and the Marwaris in retail trade and money-lending. The Parsees also control the iron and steel industry to a large extent, but their foremen and technical experts are mostly American and British. There are one or two statements that are open to criticism. The theory that the Turks closed the road to India in the middle of the fifteenth century (pp. 3, 27) has not been generally accepted since the publication of Professor Lybyer's article in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1914. It is also incorrect to say that the Indian railways are starved because of "the failure to separate the general financial account from the railway accounts" (p. 184). As a matter of fact, these accounts were separated in 1925. The railways are still required to contribute to the general revenues, but the method of assessment is reasonable and they should be able in normal years to accumulate a handsome surplus. The book as a whole is an excellent piece of work and it should be read by everyone who is interested in the Government of India Bill now before the British Parliament.

Bryn Mawr College. WILLIAM ROY SMITH.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Social Foundations of Education. By GEORGE S. COUNTS, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, and Others. [American Historical Association, Report of the Commission on the

Social Studies, Part IX.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. Pp. xiv, 579. $3.00.)

WITH the publication of each successive volume of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, sponsored by the American Historical Association, the importance of the work of this Commission becomes increasingly evident. The ten volumes already published portray not only a picture of the present status of the social studies, but the background of their development in the American educational system. The contribution, in fact, is so important that students of American cultural history have for the first time a perspective in which to place American education. Despite the distinguished scholars and educational leaders who have been enlisted in the project, and the obviously important work which has been accomplished, it is discouraging to note that, with the exception of reviews in a restricted group of educational publications, the work of the Commission has been given but little attention. This is particularly unfortunate in the case of the book under review, which has an interest that transcends education. This study, which Professor Counts calls *The Social Foundations of Education,* might almost as accurately be entitled "The Social and Economic Background of American Ideas". It is even more than that; it is a sociological interpretation of American history—practically the first that has yet been attempted—and as such is of marked significance to the student of American history. While Professor Counts has not unearthed any new facts regarding the history of the United States, he has taken the most pertinent information available to scholars and has woven it into an understandable synthesis. Information contained in works like *Middletown* and *Recent Social Trends,* as well as in a host of other contributions to social and economic history, now begin to fit into a structural whole. Furthermore, previous efforts to interpret American history, such as the Turnerian thesis of the frontier, J. T. Adams's "dream of democracy", or Beard's conflict of economic sections, have all been made to contribute to the understanding of our development without receiving the entire emphasis. Professor Counts places the democratic tradition, natural environment, and the impact of technology as the three basic forces which have molded American history; the influence of these forces he has developed in chapters on the family, economy, communication, health, education, recreation, science, art, justice, government, and world relations. In three final chapters conclusions are drawn from the data presented and an educational policy for American society today is suggested. In brief, it is a dynamic picture of primitive American society, modified by environment, fundamentally changed by technological advance, and dominated throughout by individualistic competitive capitalism. It pictures the economic system in which American society has developed for three centuries as breaking down, and points to the necessity that education, "always a function of time, place and

circumstance", shift its rôle to meet the new day. If American educators could be induced to read this volume, they might gain some realistic conception of the American scene and the function of the social studies.

Smith College. HAROLD U. FAULKNER.

The North American Fisheries and British Policy to 1713. By CHARLES BURNET JUDAH, JR. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana: University of Illinois. 1933. Pp. 183. $1.50.)

The British Fishery at Newfoundland, 1634–1763. By RALPH GREENLEE LOUNSBURY, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in New York University. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, XXVII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1934. Pp. viii, 398. $4.00.)

THE early history of Newfoundland exhibits a protracted conflict between two parties. The fishermen of western England were determined to operate the Newfoundland fishery by means of annual fleets from their home ports, whereas certain London capitalists preferred to maintain at the island a plantation of fishermen who would depend upon London for shipping and marketing services. The West Countrymen dominated until about 1675; then their influence declined as the plantation gained ground. By 1735 the fishery had fallen into the hands of the settlers, and the Western Country confined its activity in Newfoundland to trade.

This long contest shaped the evolution of government for the island. The settlers and their London backers favored an established colonial authority; the West Country insisted that the plantation be destroyed and that the fishery be ruled from England. Victories for the West Country were registered in the Western Charters of 1634, 1661, 1674, and in the Newfoundland Act of 1699. The importance of the London plantation alliance was reflected in the anxiety at Whitehall after 1670 over the French advance in Newfoundland, the extension of royal authority at this time through the agency of convoy commodores, the success of Britain in securing title to the island in 1713, and the final decision to appoint governors for the settlement. Generally, the officials at Westminster favored the West Countrymen, but the pressure of other forces was too strong. Such forces were the need of permanent settlement as a counterweight to the French, and the greater economies of the plantation fishery, economies chiefly of lower labor costs.

Mr. Judah's study opens with two chapters on the early French, Portuguese, Spanish, and English fisheries, followed by a discussion of the rise of the New England fishery to its independent status. In the remaining chapters concerned with Newfoundland (1620–1713), he interprets English policy as the result of the superior influence of the "vested interest" of the West Country. His discussion is well informed, compact, realistic, penetrat-

ing, and enlivened with humor. Although he has worked in a scholarly manner, he has attained a point of vision well above the details of the material and has been able to see the subject in its broad outlines and thus to give the reader a sense of its larger meanings.

The study by Mr. Lounsbury is a painstaking piece of research, based chiefly on the Record Office manuscripts, and irreproachable with respect to its analysis of documents and its *apparatus criticus*. Written in a restrained and dignified manner, and comprehensive in its description of the numerous problems of Newfoundland affairs prior to 1763, the monograph will prove an invaluable aid for the study of English colonization.

The reviewer cannot accept Mr. Lounsbury's statements that British policy toward Newfoundland was not mercantilistic or consistent with other colonial policies. The preference given to the West Country satisfied every major requirement of mercantilism. So did any preference shown to the plantation, for that matter. Newfoundland merely discloses a conflict between two groups within the empire, each asserting the general principles of mercantilism. The statement that Newfoundland's trade was a branch of England's foreign trade is misleading; due to England's re-exportation of sugar, rice, tobacco, and other colonial products, colonial and foreign trade were all one piece. Mr. Lounsbury attributes the English opposition to the plantation to fears that Newfoundland might become a second New England and to considerations of the "best interests of the nation", yet all the evidence shows that the private interests of the West Country dictated early policy. Although the British sugar islands were supported by products from the "bread" colonies, Mr. Lounsbury says that those products "were never suited to a regulatory system designed to promote Virginia tobacco and Barbados sugar". Freedom to British subjects to engage in the fishery at Newfoundland was not contrary to mercantilism; similar freedom in numerous activities was extended to other colonists. If fish was not on the enumerated article list, so also many other colonial products were omitted. The exclusion of all but British vessels from the fishery and the emphasis upon the West Country trade as a school for seamen harmonized with the shipping policy of mercantilism. That England did not attempt seriously to enforce the Acts of Trade at Newfoundland indicates only that the effort was not worth the cost—so slight was the trade involved. The guiding purpose of English colonial policy—to derive profit from the colonies and thus to augment national wealth—is manifest in all the regulations designed for Newfoundland.

The University of Wisconsin. CURTIS NETTELS.

Canada and the American Revolution: the Disruption of the First British Empire. By GEORGE M. WRONG. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1935. Pp. xii, 497. $5.00.)

THIS volume is the sequel to Professor Wrong's earlier work on *The Rise and Fall of New France* which appeared in 1928. Much has been said in recent years about Canada's rôle as a liaison nation, to interpret the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States to each other. Here is a specific illustration of the process; a Canadian historian, with an established reputation as a scholar in United States, Canadian, and English history, writing as a Canadian, about a crisis in empire relations, with sufficient understanding and objectivity to appreciate genuinely the conflict of issues and personalities that produced the American Revolution. The title is a little misleading. Actually, the narrative moves about, from London, to Quebec, to Boston, and into the wilds of the American West. Internal conditions in three countries are subjected to critical analysis, and far from presenting a pro-British interpretation of the Revolution, the author probably errs by attributing too much of the responsibility for the crisis of 1776 to British "arrogance and stupidity".

Beginning with a description of the Canadian and British scene after 1763, with particular emphasis on the stubborn persistence of French culture in Canada, Professor Wrong unfolds the familiar story of the Proclamation of 1763, and Murray's rule in Canada in the early days of British supremacy. A long chapter, in the style of chapters on Indian affairs in his earlier volumes, describes Pontiac's conspiracy with dramatic detail. Not until after the first 173 pages, do we reach Grenville's policy and the events leading immediately to armed conflict. Many pages are devoted to social and economic conditions in England and the colonies, to the political system of George III, and to the traditional account of the mercantile policy.

Professor Wrong does not believe that it was the Quebec Act "that kept the Canadians French and Catholic", but rather the "enduring devotion to their ancient culture, inherent in the French character", which "the presence or absence of formal law could affect but slightly" (p. 259). He maintains that Carleton overestimated the authority of both seigniors and clergy over the French Canadians, and makes the surprising assertion (p. 284) that many Canadian peasants promised to fight the American invaders in 1775 and 1776 only if the Quebec Act were repealed. Influenced perhaps by present-day enthusiasm for the British Commonwealth, Professor Wrong easily finds the fundamental cause of the American Revolution in "the teeming life of a new world that had become self-reliant" and "required complete freedom to shape its own destiny" (p. 475).

The efforts of the American Revolutionists to make Canada a fourteenth colony by propaganda and military force are recounted with dramatic interest, but with no substantial additions to the account in the standard volumes of Justin H. Smith. In the last 110 pages, the author treats of the Loyalist migrations to England and to British North America. This story

of the exile of the empire builders in the Canadian wilderness is more than a twice-told tale, but Professor Wrong retells it with a sense of balance that reveals some appreciation for the fact that the conduct of the Loyalists in the American colonies during the Revolution was not always above criticism and frequently invited retaliation. Chapter XXII, on "Loyalist Indemnities" reveals the procedure of the Loyalist commissions in America, the claims presented, and includes some figures on the actual compensations allowed. This chapter is especially to be commended as a real contribution, and it is regrettable that it was not expanded to include further details not easily accessible elsewhere. In a volume which touches upon so many aspects of the Revolution, something more might have been said about the several hundred Canadian refugees who supported the American Revolution and later appealed for compensation to the United States government. The reference on page 411 is too brief and leaves an inaccurate impression. Little effort has been made to determine the actual number of Loyalists who entered British North America, and though this may be reserved for still another volume, suggested on page 461, the political and constitutional effects of the migration might have been stressed, and the story brought to a more logical termination with the Constitutional Act of 1791.

Professor Wrong is the master of a lively and dramatic style, and even when he rambles off, as he occasionally does, into pages that have little direct bearing on his main theme, one must admit that he always produces interesting reading. Especially noteworthy are the many thumbnail sketches of public figures scattered throughout the volume. The book is in the Macaulay-Parkman tradition, and the material is curiously proportioned. There are no footnotes, but the critical bibliography at the end shows a thorough acquaintance with even the most modern publications, and one notes few important omissions. The index is not always adequate, but the proofreading has been done with commendable accuracy, in vivid contrast with the earlier two volumes in this series. This volume derives its value not from uncovering much new material, but from presenting an intelligent, balanced, and dramatically interesting synthesis of events in three countries at a most critical juncture in their history. For this task, Professor Wrong was ideally suited.

The Ohio State University. CARL WITTKE.

La Société des Cincinnati de France et la guerre d'Amérique, 1778–1783. Par Baron LUDOVIC DE CONTENSON. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1934. Pp. 310. 125 fr.)

WHEN the Society of the Cincinnati was instituted by the officers of the American army at the close of the Revolution, it was decided to admit officers of the French army and navy in recognition of their part in the establish-

ment of American independence. The branch in France, of which the Comte d'Estaing was president and the Comte de Rochambeau, vice president, was authorized by the king who permitted the Eagle to be worn though no other foreign decorations were then permitted in France. The large membership was dispersed by the French Revolution, many perishing by the guillotine. Though a few new members were admitted under the Restoration, *L'Ordre américain de Cincinnatus*, as it was known in France, remained dormant until revived by the General Society of the Cincinnati in 1925. In the interim not a few descendants of French members were admitted to membership in several state societies in America.

The records of the French Cincinnati were preserved and contain a wealth of historical data of great worth, albeit almost unknown outside the society. The Baron de Contenson, archivist of the French Cincinnati, has for many years published papers on the Cincinnati in France, containing much important information not otherwise available to American readers. The splendid work which has just appeared brings together the topics that he has previously considered, and much new material, and, for the first time, gives a complete account of the Society of the Cincinnati in France, including its establishment in France and the parts played by Rochambeau, Grasse, Estaing, Lafayette, and others, the meetings of the society prior to the Reign of Terror, and the Eagle of the Order in diamonds presented to General Washington by the officers of the French navy, and worn by each of his eleven successors as President General of the Cincinnati.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book to the general reader is the admirable collection of biographies of original French members, more than 300 in number. The list reads like a French peerage, for nearly all of the French members were men of title. There are portraits of nearly 200 of them, a most unusual collection. There are also large plates of Washington wearing the Eagle, Lafayette, Rochambeau, Grasse, Estaing, and others, including one of Louis XVI, Patron of the Order, also facsimiles of letters of Washington to the French Cincinnati and reproductions of the several types of Eagles used in France.

It would be difficult to find even a fraction of the portraits of the original American members. Of many of them we have only the names, for even the War and Navy Department records are far from complete, and the same is true of the Revolutionary archives in the original states. It is such a work as this that brings home to all the significance of the Treaty of Alliance of the United States and France of 1778, the only treaty of alliance in American history.

Washington, D. C. EDGAR ERSKINE HUME.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789. Edited from the original records in the Library of Congress by JOHN C. FITZPATRICK. Volumes XXX, XXXI, *January 2–December 31, 1786.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1934. Pp. vi, 1–450; 451–1004. $2.25; $3.00.)

THE story of the Continental Congress for the year 1786 as gathered from the *Journals* is in most respects a repetition of the story of 1785, only worse. The Confederation is revealed as a little farther down the slippery slope and dangerously gathering momentum toward the precipice. Only as the year was fading out did there come a glimmer of hope, a faint promise of salvation.

The thirteen states, sponsors and patrons of that one-time "august body", were manifesting a cold unconcern for Congress and most of its works. A feeling of self-sufficiency had grown apace, and eminent citizens of proud commonwealths had begun to look askance upon entangling alliances with neighboring commonwealths, gravely doubting whether they would have further need of the Confederation and its Congress. Indeed those who were presently to become the rampant and raucus opponents of the new constitution were already numerous, and they were by nature vociferous. Progenitors these of that expanded tribe of militant evangelists later known as hundred-percenters.

Fortunately those who were in favor of a general overhauling of the plant, which, as most agreed, was seriously defective, and of equipping it with more efficient power, slowly gained the ascendancy. The tentative plan laid by this latter group at the Annapolis convention in September was, to be sure, received with coldness and skepticism by the majority in Congress, nevertheless that body presently yielded a reluctant acquiescence, even if it did not bestow its blessing. The plan proved to be a good beginning.

Not all of what is here said finds explicit record in the Journals of Congress, yet it is implicit in nearly every page of that record. It is particularly evident, for instance, in the perpetual struggle with the problem of revenue; and it is equally manifest when Massachusetts, finding herself betwixt the Devil and Daniel Shays, donned unaccustomed sackcloth and approached Congress with an appeal, "Come over into Massachusetts and help us!"

What the Journal record does show, *ad nauseam* and to the confounding of all plans, is that during the greater part of the year Congress was shorthanded of men. There were long and frequent intervals when not as many as seven states could be mustered; nine seldom appeared; and no less than nine could put the stamp of authority on any important measure. Nevertheless, despite the all too frequent deficiency of members, and though sorely hampered by the scantiness of power, Congress presistently, as best it could

and when it could, ground away at the grists that were brought to its mill and even upon grists of its own providing. Much time, for example, was devoted to the business of adjusting accounts, state and individual, and to the settlement of claims, some of them nearly as old as the war.

Further progress was also made toward the settlement of the Western land problem, a problem that had already absorbed much time and thought. An eagerly desired cession was made by Connecticut and accepted by Congress (even though it involved some perspiratory logrolling); essential treaties were negotiated with various Indian tribes; and there were renewed efforts to formulate a satisfactory and effective plan of government for the Western territory.

In the matter of foreign affairs, while negotiations were pressed in behalf of amicable relations, commercial and other, with Great Britain, Spain, and the Barbary powers, Congress was confronted at almost every step with a want of confidence in its authority. The Spanish negotiation in particular, involving mainly the question of the free navigation of the Mississippi, was hotly debated through several months and bade fair to rend the Union into fragments.

An appendix to the *Journals* includes a speech of Charles Pinckney, made in Congress (August 16) during the debate on the Spanish treaty, and some notes of debates on the same subject, kept by William Samuel Johnson. The same editorial method as was employed in preparing the volumes for 1785 has been used in these volumes, and with a like proficiency. While renewing his high commendation, this reviewer finds himself nevertheless impelled by an intractable conscience to report that he has discovered two or three small bugs imbedded in the amber. For instance, John Henry of Maryland is frequently required to masquerade as William Henry of Pennsylvania (the latter was not a member in 1786), and once as James McHenry. Similarly, James White of North Carolina appears on two occasions with the label, "Mr. [Alexander] White".

Carnegie Institution of Washington. EDMUND C. BURNETT.

Robert Mills, Architect of the Washington Monument, 1781–1855. By H. M. PIERCE GALLAGHER. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1935. Pp. xxv, 233. $4.50.)

THOSE persons who, like Charles Eliot Norton, see in the architecture of a country the outward, visible, and enduring signs of the history of that country, will be interested in Mrs. Gallagher's biography of Robert Mills, architect of the Washington monuments in Washington and Baltimore and the designer of many public buildings. Robert Mills, born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1781, was the first native-born American trained in the profession of architecture. Of the first eight architects of note, five were

Englishmen and three were Frenchmen. Bulfinch, like Jefferson, was a self-trained amateur, endowed with fine taste and with the ability to impart such charm to his work that he and his creations continue in honor.

Mills studied architecture under Hoban, architect of the White House, who was trained in Dublin and who designed for the home of the President, a gentleman's house of its period. Similar buildings are found in Ireland, England, and even in Poland and Russia. Fresh from Hoban's office, Mills became a member of Jefferson's family and assisted the latter in preparing designs for the buildings of the University of Virginia, admired alike by architect and layman. Then he went to help Latrobe, as both architect and engineer. In 1836 Andrew Jackson appointed Mills Federal Architect, a position he held for sixteen years, during which time he designed in all parts of the country public buildings based upon a continuation of those classical precedents agreeable to Washington and used and insisted upon by Jefferson, the instigator of the so-called "Greek Revival". The style set by the Fathers and continued by Mills still prevails in the upbuilding of Washington now going on. The rare departures, due to ephemeral fashions, are marked for destruction.

By training and by instinct Mills had the monumental sense. That is to say, that through the ages men have built their permanent monuments according to certain forms in which simplicity, satisfying proportions, elegance, and grandeur are combined. By no means the least of our inheritance from the founders of the republic is the architectural style which was so closely akin to their methods of thought and also which allied this new country with the great architectural tradition of the ages. This tradition Mills exemplified in his buildings in such measure that his Washington Monument, Treasury, Patent Office, and old Post Office are at home equally with the Capitol and the White House, and also with the Lincoln Memorial, the Supreme Court, and the Archives Building.

Mills's supreme work is the Washington Monument, which holds place with the great commemorative structures of all times—at once a memorial and a symbol, destined to grow more dear to the hearts and minds of the American people. Its originally planned dominance is being unfolded and emphasized as the L'Enfant plan of 1792 is being worked out in the national capital. Financial exigencies modified Mills's original design, and its location was off the main axis. But its essential features of dominance were preserved. These characteristics will be enhanced now that the monument has been brought into organic, vital relations with the great plan of the central composition of the national capital.

Mills's career ended when in 1851 Thomas U. Walter's plans for the lateral extension of the Capitol were preferred to those of Mills. The question was one of plan, not style; for Walter also carried on the great tradition.

No better example of the alliance of architecture and history can be found

than Robert Mills's life and work afford. Mrs. Gallagher has done a real service to both fields of endeavor by her persistent research and her presentation of the career of a much neglected character.

Washington, D. C. CHARLES MOORE.

The White-Headed Eagle, John McLoughlin, Builder of an Empire. By RICHARD G. MONTGOMERY. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. xi, 358. $3.50.)

THIS biography presents the personal life of Dr. John McLoughlin, the chronological details of birth, education, marriage, progress of his career with the fur companies of Canada, and residence at Fort Vancouver from 1824 to 1846. He is pictured as the beneficent ruler of a vast empire, the kindly father and husband, the benefactor and friend of the Indian, missionary, and settler. The book gives evidence of painstaking research and will serve as a guide to the materials of early Oregon history. It will bring pleasure to the many who revere McLoughlin's memory and deem him worthy of first place among the heroes of the Pacific Northwest. Nor will such readers take offense if at times the author skillfully works in imaginative detail to fill gaps in the record. Chapters III and XVI, descriptive of McLoughlin's trip to London in 1821 and 1838, are, for example, nearly pure fiction. Elsewhere the inclusion of fictitious detail is more obvious, as in ascribing great influence to the Indian wife, in telling the thoughts of his characters, in implying that McLoughlin was annoyed by "too many missionaries" (ch. XIV), and in making it appear that "the chief factor scored a point" on Governor Simpson in the choice of a site for Fort Vancouver (ch. V).

Little or no effort has been made to present McLoughlin in his character as a business manager of the Columbia River department of the Hudson's Bay Company who received his orders by annual overland express from his superior in command in Canada, Governor George Simpson, and from the London governor and committee. Nor will there here be found any complete picture of the company's fur gathering, fishing, farming, shipbuilding, coastwise trading, lumbering, flour milling, and commercial activities; all of which were directed by McLoughlin. He could have been shown as a competent branch manager who made his district yield an annual net return in excess of $200,000 over a twenty years period. His true place in the history of the Pacific Northwest must be determined on the basis of his loyalty and service to his company rather than his part in aiding the settlement of the country by Americans.

A new edition of this book can be made more useful to researchers in its field by a bibliography revised to conform to accepted standards, by citations that always direct to the best sources rather than to an unreliable secondary

account, and by correction of all errors of fact, a few of which follow. Colville was never a governor of the Hudson's Bay Company (p. 99). The first and second expeditions of Ogden are confused in chapter VII. A. R. McLeod, not John McLeod, was sent to recover Smith's horses as well as his furs and most probably not under "sealed orders". The exact sum paid Smith was £550 2*s.* 6*d.*, and not $3200 (pp. 125–135). McLoughlin first went to Fort William in 1808, not in "1803 or 1804" (p. 20). Quotations (p. 198) are from Wyeth's letters, not from his journal. McLoughlin's "Last Letter" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI, 105–134) shows clearly that the company stood to bear all losses, if any, from sales to settlers and not McLoughlin as the author believes.

The University of Oregon. R. C. Clark.

General George Brinton McClellan: a Study in Personality. By William Starr Myers, Ph.D., Professor of Politics, Princeton University. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1934. Pp. xiii, 520. $5.00.)

In this very interesting and informing biography, Dr. Myers has presented General McClellan's personality by revealing little known, but admirable qualities of this unusual and, to some extent, unfortunate character. Though the author writes of McClellan without an adequate relation of his actions and leadership to contemporary events, the reader closes the book with a new understanding of and sympathy for this young soldier and leader who fell short of greatness only because he lacked that quality which constantly urges a man to action in the face of difficulties and opposition.

Perhaps no soldier was ever thrust so suddenly into supreme command and failed so signally as McClellan. His early career was characterized by good fortune and great promise. His failure was due, largely, to a peculiar quirk in his mentality rather than to any lack of ability as a soldier and leader. He had an unusual ability as an organizer for a victory he never achieved. He had some ability as a tactician and more as a strategist on the grand scale, but he was never a man of action, such as Grant or Lee. He had "the pedantry of war, rather than the inspiration of war". Unfortunately for him and the cause he served, McClellan early developed a captious and critical attitude toward all who opposed his plans, thereby depriving himself of the unqualified support of Lincoln and his advisers. As a result of this attitude McClellan was constantly on the defensive, explaining the reasons for his lack of action and failure to advance. His scientific training and meticulous state of mind caused him always to want things "letter-perfect" before he would attack.

His own view of his leadership caused him, over and over again, to write that he had saved his country from defeat and ruin. He had an un-

usual confidence in his own judgment that made him restless under criticism and scornful of his superiors. He was so constituted that once he had set his heart on a course of action, he would admit no argument or fact that might militate against it. He never was able to understand that his opponent as well as himself had problems and difficulties. The most charitable view of his career would admit "that his failure to accomplish more was partly his misfortune and not altogether his fault".

Dr. Myers has brought out all of these facts by a skillful selection of extracts from McClellan's voluminous correspondence. He has given to McClellan a vivid personality and builds for him a sympathetic and friendly attitude on the part of the reader. Disclaiming any attempt at writing a military biography, the author has been completely successful in presenting a personality. Dr. Myers is a McClellan partisan and endeavors to justify his leadership. He admits McClellan "may have made mistakes; he may have been too pliable in the hands of others; but of his honesty and sincerity there can be no doubt".

The restriction of the military side of the story to "a few illustrations" causes the author to omit a balanced discussion of McClellan's leadership and of his relations with Lincoln, Stanton, Halleck, the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and others. Always indifferent to Lincoln's suggestions McClellan could hardly credit the order restricting his command. The change was as much a surprise to McClellan as it was necessary for Lincoln. McClellan's career after his final relief from active command is well and interestingly told and is a contribution to the political history of the period.

The critical comparison of McClellan with Grant is hardly valid. Grant had proved his ability as a leader and a man of action. For this reason he was not interfered with nor was it necessary to prod him. Likewise, the author is very critical toward Halleck and bitter toward Stanton to whom he ascribes the responsibility for most of McClellan's difficulties. On the other hand, Dr. Myers defends McClellan and his supporters against all criticism.

The author has used the extensive collection of McClellan's papers as well as other similar collections to good advantage, but in his notes he gives no indication as to whether the extracts quoted are printed for the first time or whether they have previously been used, as in the *Official Records*. There is no bibliography, but there are several useful maps.

Dr. Myers's book is a valuable contribution to the history of the War between the States and presents a useful, if somewhat partial, analysis of McClellan's character and achievements.

Great Neck, New York. THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

Letters of Grover Cleveland, 1850–1908. Selected and edited by ALLAN NEVINS. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933. Pp. xix, 640. $5.00.)

DESPITE the excellence of the biography to which this volume is supplementary and complementary, one cannot but feel that the more intimate sidelights upon a human personality are those necessarily preserved in the original autobiographical sources, of which personal correspondence is often the most intimate. Cleveland was not, as Mr. Nevins points out, a great or even prolific letter writer. But as editor he is satisfied that this collection makes available the most important items in the scattered collections of Cleveland papers, the main one being that of the Library of Congress.

Cleveland wrote "but seldom spontaneously and never discursively, for the love of writing" (p. v). Yet one cannot read any considerable number of his letters without feeling the vigor of his personality, together with his unquestionable humanity and sincerity. He was modest in his expectations, never driven by overweening ambition. The necessities of life, "eating, drinking, and sleeping", outdoor recreation (with a veritable passion for fishing), the love and respect of friends and neighbors, and the conscientious discharge of professional duties, however humble—these were for him first considerations, whatever fortune might have in store for him. Success and high office brought him social responsibilities for which he had little relish (see p. 98) and exposed the intimacies of his domestic relations to the glaring light of a publicity that he often resented. "I am heartily sick and tired of seeing my name in the papers" (p. 219), he protested with unquestionable sincerity. He was exceedingly anxious to shield his beloved wife "as much as possible from any notoriety" (p. 302), whether it should be impending maternity, the public acknowledgment of having won a newspaper popularity contest, or the publication of her photograph during a presidential campaign. He did not want his summer vacation plans ruined by "the pestilence of newspaper correspondence" (p. 117). "If the newspaper men get there *I shall leave",* he wrote. "I will not have my vacation spoiled by being continually watched and lied about, and I won't subject my wife to that treatment." How he must have resented the later published accounts of alleged brutality to his wife (p. 184)!

His correspondence fails to reveal any of the qualities of the demagogue. He declined to pander to the fickle demands of popular passion. He did not like the "incessant pester about offices" (p. 21), "the d - - d everlasting clatter for offices" (p. 94), well enough to build up a powerful personal machine. Nor was he willing to pose as an ardent civil service reformer. It was his desire "to remain true to that [Democratic] organization" (p. 47) to which he was attached by principle; but with "a due regard to the people's interest" (p. 53) not to be swept away by blind partisan zeal. His contributions to civil service reform were in the light of this background all the more substantial. Elected to the presidency he looked "upon the four years next to come as a dreadful self-inflicted penance for the good of my country" (p. 48).

Yet this strong note of humility was matched on the other extreme by a determination, based upon a conviction of his own righteousness, that made him a stubborn fighter, sometimes unable or unwilling to concede the sincerity of his opponents. When Governor David B. Hill, whom he disliked on various counts, was trying to secure the services of his secretary, he burst out: "What a whelp, morally and politically, he is!" (p. 118). As in this case, he was particularly severe in his judgments of party associates who did not keep the faith as he saw it. Democratic factionalism in New York often gave him such opportunities. His second term, after he had nursed his desire to have his "discharge from public and political life" (p. 230), came in spite of his conviction that Hill and his friends would never permit him to carry the state of New York. Then came his great disappointment when Democratic conservatives repudiated his tariff reform recommendations to serve the trusts and combinations, "the communism of pelf" (p. 365). "All the Democrats in the country seem at this moment to think they are to be saved by . . . wallowing in the mire", by truckling to Hill, he complained (p. 369). Abandonment of tariff reform, he thought, could only mean "party perfidy and party dishonor" (p. 355).

But an even greater disappointment was in store for him. His consistent and persistent devotion to the cause of sound money proved insufficient to prevent the committal of his party to the "silver aberration". He directed the organization of the forces opposed to inflation and made a personal appeal to Democratic voters, only to have to face the fact of Bryan's nomination by the Chicago Convention. "Those who controlled the Convention displayed their hatred of me and wholly repudiated me", he complained (p. 446). He found some satisfaction in the Gold Democratic movement and in Bryan's defeat, but it was only in the quiet of his retirement in his new Princeton home that he at length found the peace for which he had longed.

All these and other phases of Cleveland's career are illumined by the intimate touches of these letters. The value of this body of material is greatly enhanced for the average reader by the skillful summaries of the general narrative that Mr. Nevins places at the beginning of each chapter. This is an editorial device that might well be followed in similar collections.

Western Reserve University. ARTHUR C. COLE.

The Presidential Vote, 1896–1932. By EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON, Margaret Byrne Professor of American History, Stanford University. (Stanford University Press. 1934. Pp. ix. 403. $6.00.)

THIS work presents in statistical tables data concerning the vote in the last ten presidential elections. The chief table is No. IX, which fills about five-eighths of the book, and contains the vote by counties for the entire

country. The states are listed in alphabetical order, and under each appears an alphabetical list of its counties, with the vote in each election in parallel columns. For each county is given the Democratic vote, the Republican vote, the "other" vote, and the total. Totals for the state appear under the same classification, and notes explain the composition of the "other" vote. For example, in Alabama in 1896 it consisted of 6462 Gold Democrat votes and 2147 Prohibitionist, while in 1932 in the same state it was made up of 2030 Socialist votes, 675 Communist, and 13 Prohibitionist.

Table IX provides the data for the other tables, in which the material is rearranged and recombined to show the vote by sections, by states grouped according to sections, and the number of Democratic, Republican, and "other" counties at each election by states and sections. Table VIII lists counties by states, showing whether they were Democratic, Republican, or "other" at each election.

Helpful comment accompanies the tables. Most illuminating is the introductory essay on pages 3 to 34, in which the vote for each campaign is analyzed. The distribution of the vote is illustrated in each case by a chart showing Democratic areas in black, Republican in white, those which were neither in grey, with other appropriate marks for counties where the vote was a tie or for which there are no returns. The student is warned that the charts are less significant than the tables, because they hide under the black and white the large and persistent minorities which usually represent a fighting chance for victory. The tables make it possible to take account of the minority vote, as a modifying factor of importance in generalizations concerning sectional attitudes. A conclusion of importance is that since in any given section the minority is nearly always chiefly Republican or Democratic, rather than "other", the United States during these years has been quite definitely a two-party country.

This volume will supply scholars with fundamental matter for many studies of local and sectional politics such as have become popular in recent decades. Its utility would be enhanced by statistics on state and local elections, but such a compilation would require stupendous labor. The present work is itself monumental. There existed no printed document or documents, national or state, containing all of these figures, and Professor Robinson painstakingly collected many of his data from manuscripts in the archives of numerous states.

The Ohio State University. HOMER C. HOCKETT.

SHORTER NOTICES

New Light on the Most Ancient East: the Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory. By V. Gordon Childe, B.Litt., Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology in Edinburgh University. (New York, D. Appleton-Century Com-

pany, 1934, pp. xviii, 326, $4.00.) This is the second edition of a work first published in 1929. In the first edition, Professor Childe endeavored to describe and compare the rise of civilizations in the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates, and the Indus as far as it was possible then to discern them from the results of archaeological explorations.

It is a tribute to the value of the book that within five years a new edition has been found necessary. During this five years archaeological exploration and research has made such advance in knowledge that it has been necessary to rewrite more than half of the present edition. In the chapters which concern Egypt some changes were found necessary by advancing knowledge, but in those which treat of Mesopotamian and Indian prehistory a thorough rewriting was, because of the advance in knowledge, found necessary. In his first edition the history and art of early Susa and Elam were treated as part of the Sumerian culture of Babylonia. In the present edition, owing largely to the work of Professor Speiser of the University of Pennsylvania at Teppe Gawra, of Baron von Oppenheim at Tell Halaf, of the labors of the Oxford-Field Expedition at Kish and the Germans at Erech, it has been possible to correct the misconception involved in that treatment. Sumerian and Pre-Sumerian culture in Babylonia are now discussed in the light of the abundant material brought to light in the last five years and the division into the antediluvian and postdiluvian cultures of Professor Childe's first edition, based on a mistaken identification of Woolley's, has rightly been abandoned. The cultures of Elam and Assyria as represented by discoveries at Susa, Musyan, Teppe Gawra, Nineveh, and Tell Halaf are rightly given a chapter by themselves. The comparatively short chapter in the first edition on the early civilization of the Indus Valley has been entirely rewritten and enlarged. The final publication by Sir John Marshall in the three volumes of the *Archaeological Survey of India* has made more ample material accessible, and Professor Childe has also visited the sites of Harrapa and Mohenjo-Daro and thus acquainted himself with many of the facts at first hand. In the final chapter of the new edition we are presented with an acute and illuminating discussion of the relative age, independence, and interrelation of these four great cultures. This takes the place of the concluding discussion in the first edition which was devoted to the relations of Europe to these ancient cultures.

Professor Childe, whose especial field is prehistoric archaeology, has done his work well and brought to his task insight, a broad background, and independent judgment. While one cannot always agree with his theories, the book is heartily to be commended.

The University of Pennsylvania. GEORGE A. BARTON.

The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of Fifth Season of Work, October, 1931–March, 1932. Edited by M. I. Rostovtzeff, Ster-

ling Professor of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology in Yale University. [Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1934, pp. xviii, 322, LII plates, $5.00.) The fifth season's work at Dura was at least as important as that of any of its predecessors. The fortifications were thoroughly studied; a large section of the middle of the city, including numerous private houses, was excavated; the market place and the buildings pertaining thereto were for the most part uncovered and their plans were determined; the "Southwest Temple", now identified as the temple of Aphlad, was completely excavated and the relative chronology of its various parts tentatively established; the temple of Artemis-Azzanathkona, near the "Tower of the Archers", was discovered and its history traced from its foundation, before 12 A. D., to the destruction of the city by the Persians; the Praetorium was excavated just to the southeast of this temple; it was built between February 211 and February 212 A. D. and is a good example of its class, with its monumental entrance, large court, *armamentaria,* large hall, chapel of the *signa,* and, apparently, a *schola* before the main entrance. Works of sculpture, painted and scratched *graffiti,* papyri, inscriptions, and small objects of various kinds discovered during the season are numerous and of considerable interest and importance. Art at Dura shows in the middle of the first Christian century a Hellenistic style already modified by Eastern elements, which become more marked under Parthian influence and are present, in combination with other elements, in works created after the Roman occupation.

The most surprising discovery of the season was that of a Christian church adorned in part with well preserved wall paintings. Originally the church was a room in a private house, but later, apparently in 232 A. D., two rooms were thrown together and the building was openly a church. Another room was a chapel with an arched niche (baptistery or martyrium), which probably antedates the alterations of 232 A. D. Here are paintings representing (1) Adam and Eve, (2) The Good Shepherd, (3) The Paralytic, (4) The Miracle of the Lake, (5) The Holy Women at the Sepulcher, (6) David and Goliath, (7) The Samaritan Woman. The red background is done in fresco, the figures for the most part with a sort of chalk. The types are already firmly fixed and are not in the Roman tradition. The paintings, which are not all by one painter, seem to be in an indigenous Syrian style. The fifth season of work was rich in discoveries which throw light, not only upon the history of Dura, its fortifications, its garrison, and its people, but upon the history of Syrian and Early Christian art in general.

The writer of most of the book is the field director, Dr. Clark Hopkins; other contributors are P. V. C. Baur, A. R. Bellinger, S. M. Hopkins, A. D. Nock, H. T. Rowell, M. I. Rostovtzeff, E. T. Silk, and C. B. Welles. Like its predecessors, this report contains an index of inscriptions and, like them,

it presents in admirable form and with excellent illustrations all that can be expected in a preliminary publication.

The Library of Congress. HAROLD N. FOWLER.

Oxford Essays in Medieval History. Presented to Herbert Edward Salter. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. viii, 264, $7.50.) This volume was prepared to honor one of Oxford's foremost scholars upon his reaching the age of seventy. If any reminder concerning the historical work of Dr. Salter were necessary, it is supplied by Professor Powicke's introductory note and also by a useful list of his published works. The work is entirely worthy of the occasion. The volume reaches a rare level of general attainment. The essays cover a wide range of medieval topics. Dr. Salter has been fortunate in those who do him this honor. The authors belong to a group of tutors and other students of medieval history with whom Dr. Salter has been closely associated. Some have already achieved distinction through their writings.

Only one of these eleven essays, an account of the work of John Ayliffe, "A Neglected Oxford Historian", by Strickland Gibson, deals directly with Oxford. Only a few are concerned with English monasticism. The useful historical data on the Augustinian priory of Butley, by J. N. L. Myres; the impressive account of the ecclesiastical *banleuca* in England, by H. D. Lobel; and that of the disposition of the lands of the Templars in England, by Mrs. A. M. Leys, complete this category. The study of the *Cursus curiae romanae* and the *Ars dictaminis* in England, by N. Denholm-Young, is one of profound scholarship and is accompanied by a list of manuscript materials. The account of the Castilian chancery of the reign of Alfonso X, by Miss E. S. Proctor, is an admirable study in diplomatics. Especially striking also is the essay of Miss E. M. Jamison devoted to the twelfth century Abbess Bethlem, head of a Benedictine house at Benevento, and to the barons of the *Terra Beneventana.* An excellent account of the *Grand Conseil* of the Duke of Bedford as regent of France, by Miss B. J. H. Rowe, is the last of the three notable studies on Continental subjects.

Students of English institutions will be grateful especially for three other essays of high merit. Miss M. V. Clarke presents an investigation of the "Origin of Impeachment", J. G. Edwards of the "*Plena Potestas* of Parliamentary Representatives". Finally, though in actual order the first of the series, comes an interpretation by J. E. A. Joliffe of the "Era of the Folk". The conclusions in part are but hypothetically advanced. But the view that the *scir* or its equivalents, the rape and the lathe, were administrative divisions of the folk kingdom; that in the outland lie the survivals of its fiscal and agrarian usages; that the soke and the hidation of the Danelaw are of English rather than Danish origin, is constructive and illuminating, even if the study passes over the *scir* and the ealdorman of Wessex.

The University of California. W. A. MORRIS.

Étude sur les civitates de la Belgique seconde: Contribution à l'histoire urbaine du nord de la France de la fin du III^e^ à la fin du XI^e^ siècle. Par Fernand Vercauteren, docteur en philosophie et lettres. (Brussels, Marcel Hayez, 1934, pp. 488.) It is a commonly accepted opinion that the great economic revival which came over Western Europe in the eleventh century owed little or nothing to classical economic activity. For this reason few scholars have paid even cursory attention to trade and industry and the evolution of town life during the years which elapsed from the decline of the Roman Empire to the close of the eleventh century. Recently, however, several scholars, particularly Professors Pirenne and Dopsch, have begun to investigate what traces of a money economy could be found during these centuries which very generally were regarded as having been dominated entirely by an agrarian economy. Dr. Vercauteren has the credit of being the first to elucidate the connection between classical and later medieval towns of the southern Low Countries and adjacent French lands, the ancient Roman province of *Belgica Secunda* as constituted by Diocletian. He has chosen to trace this relationship by studying its twelve important cities, Rheims, Soissons, Châlons-sur-Marne, Noyon, Arras, Cambrai, Tournai, Senlis, Beauvais, Amiens, Térouanne, and Laon. The first 348 pages are devoted to illuminating studies of each of these cities. The author has most industriously gathered a wide range of curious data from all manner of sources—literary, archaeological, and numismatic—and has succeeded in making the most effective use of this diverse and often scant material. We learn that money economy existed in some of these cities down into the Carolingian era, although, of course, it was not very extensive. Jews and other merchants continued to operate in these places and money used in trade never entirely disappeared. The second part of this study presents a general picture of the economic conditions in these centuries. The first chapter discusses the various meanings of such words as *civitas, municipium, oppidum, urbs, castrum, castellum, portus,* and *emporium.* The second contains much interesting information on the area of these cities, their population, and structure such as walls, gates, churches, baths, and hospitals. The third chapter traces the decay of Roman municipal institutions and the growth of manorial conditions even within the city walls, especially on episcopal lands. And finally the last chapter reveals such continuity of money economy and trade and industry as managed to survive the five or six centuries after the loss of *Belgica Secunda* to the invading Franks. It is remarkable that so much of this economy persisted in Merovingian times. One proof of it is the widespread imitation of the coinage of Marseilles in the cities built along the Roman roads constructed in these parts. During Carolingian times the North Sea area became more and more an important region of commerce and the cities of *Belgica Secunda* seem to lose their active trading relations with the Mediterranean area. The Frisians dominate the traffic of the

Rhine and soon the newer centers of the Meuse and the Scheldt valleys begin their phenomenal evolution.

The University of Washington. HENRY S. LUCAS.

Robert Grosseteste and the Jews. By Lee M. Friedman. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934, pp. 34, $2.00.) Mr. Friedman avows himself an amateur. Hence his book cannot in fairness be judged entirely by the criteria applicable to the work of professional historians. If an amateur contributes something of definite value to the literature of his subject, he must not be condemned for faults in technique. Unfortunately Mr. Friedman's contribution is exceedingly slight. He furnishes a reasonably good translation of Grosseteste's letter to the dowager countess of Winchester in which he expounds the official church attitude toward the Jews. For the rest this essay contains practically nothing that cannot be found more fully in Stevenson's *Robert Grosseteste.*

When Mr. Friedman leaves the shelter of previous biographers and sets out for himself, the results do not inspire confidence in the accuracy of his research. On page 9 he states, "He [Grosseteste] was present at Runnymede when the Magna Charta was signed. . . . Although the chronicler, Matthew Paris, intimates that Grosseteste was on the King's side". The reference is to the first section of the Great Charter as rendered by Paris. Needless to say, there is no mention of Grosseteste among the prelates who lent their counsel to John. In fact I can find no evidence that connects Grosseteste in any way with the first issue of the Charter.

It would be superfluous to present other criticism were it not for the fact that it tends to show the inadequacy of Mr. Friedman's grasp of the history of his period. For instance, in the thirteenth century *dominus Leircestriensis* cannot properly be translated as Lord Leicester, and modern usage does not follow Paris in calling the sessions of Henry III's council parliaments. Worse yet he does not really understand the status of the English Jews. On page 12 he says, "Incidentally many an impoverished lord liquidated his liabilities out of the Jews' property, which he had seized as an adjunct of these pious efforts." It is clear that Mr. Friedman has not fully comprehended the passage of Miss Bateson which he quotes on page 18. Impoverished lords could not with impunity seize the property of "men *ferae naturae,* protected by a quasi-forest law". Let him investigate the fate of those who stole the king's deer.

The Johns Hopkins University. SIDNEY PAINTER.

Constitutional History of England. By George Burton Adams, Late Professor of History, Emeritus, Yale University. Revised by Robert L. Schuyler, Professor of History, Columbia University. [American Historical Series, Charles H. Haskins, Editor.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company,

1934, pp. xv, 600, $3.00.) In this revision the first 478 pages out of 503 remain untouched. The chief change lies in the addition of three admirable chapters on the Irish Free State, the general constitutional developments of the post-war period, and a special discussion of recent administrative development mainly from the point of view of delegated legislation and jurisdiction. Professor Schuyler is specially fitted by his later studies to write up these phases of postwar Britain, and probably no better summary is to be found. He has also rewritten and greatly expanded the chapter on the World War. On the question of revising the book as a whole at this time, Professor Schuyler admits that much has been added in fourteen years, notably Tout's work on administration, but remarking that "re-touched portraits are rarely satisfactory", he states that he has "neither the temerity nor the inclination to attempt the reconstruction of a master's work". Probably this is still the wise decision, but it is a pity that the bibliographies at the ends of chapters could not have been brought to date. This would have meant the making of but a very few new plates. He has added, however, a too brief general bibliography at the beginning, but which in characteristic inclusions, omissions, and comment is reminiscent of Adams's still briefer bibliographical note. It has been thought wise to omit Adams's discussion of imperial federation (pp. 478–485 of ch. XIX), a favorite theme of the author, because "perspectives on British imperial relations have changed since the war, and imperial federation, for the time being at least, is no longer within the range of practical politics". This exclusion is of questionable wisdom and saved but little space. The sketch of tentatives in this line throws light on past and present, and especially Adams's presentation of a growing "federation", not so much of law or of land as of ideals. It seems wholly superfluous in this connection to comment on the original work.

The University of Minnesota. A. B. White.

Studies in Church Life in England under Edward III. By K. L. Wood-Legh, M. A., B. Litt., Ph.D. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, edited by G. G. Coulton.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillian Company, 1934, pp. x, 181, $3.75.) The volume contains essays on the royal administration of financially embarrassed monasteries, the visitation of royal free chapels and of hospitals in the king's gift, alienations in mortmain, chantries, and the appropriation of parish churches. The author has confined her research mainly to the printed calendars of the enrollments made by the royal chancery. These are supplemented by the occasional use of other sources in the first three essays and their frequent use in the last two. No attempt has been made to study all the sources likely to provide information on any one subject. This method of treatment renders the essays of different worth from the point of view of thoroughness. The records of the chancery probably constitute the principal source of information con-

cerning the first three subjects, though monastic cartularies would probably add to our knowledge concerning the administration of the Statute of Mortmain, and one is left to wonder what light they might throw upon the royal intervention in the affairs of financially embarrassed religious houses. Cartularies, episcopal registers, and papal records would certainly yield additional information about chantries and appropriations.

The author, recognizing these limitations, is generally careful to draw only those deductions which the evidence seems to warrant, but in the last essay, where she utilizes most extensively documents other than those issued by the royal chancery, she reaches some conclusions which can be accepted less readily without knowledge of what other sources may contain. Her assertion that the prohibition of appropriations issued by Urban V in 1366 was repeated by his successors so regularly as to render papal consent to an appropriation essential for its legality after that date (pp. 133, 134) lacks sufficient confirmatory evidence. Its probability, indeed, may be regarded as exceedingly dubious (compare *Liber pensionum prioratus Wigorn.*, pp. 14, 43; *Reg. of Robert Rede*, pp. 138, 162–164, and *Reg. of Edmund Lacy*, pp. 674, 677 with *Cal. of Papal Registers* and the registers of the papal camera in the Vatican Archives and the Archivio di Stato in Rome; see also John Amundesham, *Annales*, I, 108). Her ingenious deduction that many parish churches appropriated during the reign of Edward III had been served previously by absentee rectors (pp. 140–143) would be more convincing if she had consulted the records of institutions which exist in manuscript for several dioceses. Despite limitations of this type, the studies constitute a welcome addition to the literature of the subject. Students of English ecclesiastical history in the Middle Ages meet repeatedly the institutions which are the subjects of the essays, and the organized information elsewhere available about them is scant. When knowledge is desired concerning the procedure in the royal administration of religious houses, the nature of royal visitations, the significance of the Statute of Mortmain, the purposes and methods of issuing licenses for its breach, the establishment and administration of chantries, and kindred topics, this volume will serve a decidedly useful purpose.

Haverford College. W. E. Lunt.

The Renaissance and the Reformation. By Henry S. Lucas, Professor of European History, University of Washington. [Harper's Historical Series, Dean Guy Stanton Ford, Editor.] (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1934, pp. xviii, 765, $4.00.) If a reviewer may be permitted to usurp the dictatorial prerogatives of an editor or a publisher, the present writer would suggest that a more fully descriptive title for Professor Lucas's excellent work would be "A Social and Economic History of the Later Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Reformation". The discussion of the Later Middle Ages is included in a section entitled "The Renaissance", thus giving

the impression that the author regards the Renaissance as a period between two dates rather than as a movement. Political developments are treated so briefly as to seem neglected.

The reader of this volume cannot fail to be filled with admiration for the industry, the scholarship, and the untiring devotion with which the author has done his work. These pages are not easy reading. As Francis Bacon might say, here is a book to be "chewed and digested". At times it becomes encyclopedic, as when the author gives a list of sixty gilds in one paragraph (p. 15), or devotes one page after another to biographical articles on minor leaders in some movement. The variety of topics included is amazing. Professor Lucas is at his best when discussing some intricate subject, such as the quarrel between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. He is also highly skillful in treating specialized subjects; for example, his chapter on chivalry is the best brief account to be found anywhere, and his discussions of the medieval calendar and of Lorenzo de' Medici are equally good.

Since history is a subject in which progress is made by constructive criticism, it may perhaps be suggested that in at least two respects this book could be improved. First, in the presentation of many subjects the "statement of the case" should be more adequate. For instance, in explaining the importance of Erasmus's *New Testament* more should be said than that "His edition (1516) was less expensive than the great Polyglot Bible published at Alcalà in 1520, and its appearance was an event of great importance in the intellectual history of the time" (p. 390). Second, the book lacks the technical aids which every textbook should provide for the use of college students: marginal notes, collateral readings, a distinction between major and minor dates, maps carefully correlated to the text, and clear definitions of such unfamiliar terms as "Inquisition", "provision", and "Quattrocento".

Ohio Wesleyan University. HASTINGS EELLS.

Erasmus: Lectures and Wayfaring Sketches. By P. S. Allen, Late President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. xii, 216, $5.00.) "Allen of Corpus"—as he was commonly called at Oxford—was an *anima naturaliter erasmiana.* While he was yet an undergraduate his love for the Humanist was kindled by Froude who personally suggested to him a new edition of the *opus epistolarum* as a promising lifework. With an almost unexampled devotion and singleness of purpose he pursued this task. Supported for some years by a small allowance from his father, and then as a schoolteacher in India, he worked in contented obscurity until at last he was ready to publish. Returning to Oxford as fellow and librarian of Merton, and then as president of Corpus Christi, he continued with his great work until his death. From this main task he turned aside only to bring out a small collection of the letters of Richard Fox, the founder of Corpus, a few small selections from the writings of Thomas

More, and some lectures on subjects closely connected with Erasmus. Some of these lectures were published many years ago under the title *The Age of Erasmus;* others have now been brought together and edited by his widow and collaborator, Helen Mary Allen, and his friend Mr. Garrod. The only fault that can possibly be found with the editors is that they have not included all the material at their disposal. A fine essay on the Amorbachs, delivered as a lecture at Glasgow in 1932, and some other small articles and notes, are missing.

What distinguishes the work of P. S. Allen even more than its broad and deep learning is its exquisite artistry. The man was an aesthete who might, had he chosen to devote himself to exposition rather than to study, have taken his place among the great English writers. The first four lectures here reprinted, on Erasmus's character, services to religion and learning, and writings, offer the finest and most delicate appreciation ever made of the Humanist. Allen's portrait of his subject makes others look violent and crude (like Zweig's), or slap-dash (like Froude's), or clumsy and meticulous (like my own and some others).

The next four chapters illuminate the relations of Erasmus with his servant-pupils, with his printers, and with the trilingual colleges of the period, and the life and work of Christopher Plantin. Eight small travel sketches, with which the volume concludes, owe their origin to the writer's habit of going to all parts of Western Europe to see the originals of the letters he was publishing.

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

Marie Stuart et le meurtre de Darnley. Par JEAN HÉRITIER. [Les énigmes de l'histoire.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1934, pp. xii, 320, 15 fr.) Mary Stuart is not really one of the enigmas of history; it is rather the pens of romantic historians which have made her career at once the most tragic and the most debatable of any reigning sovereign in the modern world. The chief difficulty in determining the truth of Mary's history lies not in the fact that there is too little evidence, but that there is too much. Imprudent, impulsive, and unsuspicious, Mary never realized until too late the plots with which she was surrounded. And even though taught by such masters of duplicity as Moray, Lethington, and Morton, she was so inept a pupil that when she herself finally turned to intrigue, her best efforts seemed merely clumsy in comparison with those of her great rival, Elizabeth.

Despite the enormous number of books dealing with Mary Stuart, Jean Héritier's volume fills a real gap in her bibliography. Although the result of his researches is distinctly favorable to Mary's character, if not to her abilities as a diplomatist, his work can in no sense be regarded as partisan. There is no important source which he has overlooked, and few secondary authorities

worth consideration which are not discussed in his pages. Because of the popular nature of the work, the notes are less full than the professional historian could wish, but his brief analyses of his sources and the critical handling of his secondary material leaves almost nothing to be desired.

His marshaling of the evidence in support of the fact that the assassination of Riccio was solely a political plot, in part engineered by Queen Elizabeth, should forever clear Mary's reputation from the charge of adultery which was nothing more than an attempt to rationalize a cowardly crime on moral grounds.

M. Héritier's discussion of the problem of the Casket Letters is perhaps the best thing in print upon that perennially fascinating historical problem. That it can continue to be a "live" issue seems hardly possible, since it has been so many times established, beyond all reasonable doubt, that they rest upon a basis of fact ingeniously distorted to encompass the ruin of the Scottish queen and to justify to the world the conduct of those who brought about her downfall. The exact proportion of truth to falsity in the letters will almost certainly never be determined, but the fact that in the form in which the world has received them they are palpable forgeries would appear to be beyond question.

It is a great compliment to French scholarship that a book designed for more or less popular consumption should be so sound in method, so meticulous in the use of its material, and so able in its presentation as is the present work.

Harvard University. EDWARD A. WHITNEY.

Alexandre Farnèse, prince de Parme, gouverneur général des Pays-Bas, 1545–1592. Par Léon van der Essen, professeur à l'Université de Louvain, membre de la Commission royale d'histoire. Tomes II, III, *1578–1584.* (Brussels, Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire, 1934, pp. 366; 262.) In these two volumes, Professor Van der Essen covers only six years in the life of Alexander Farnese. And so important were the two years before the assassination of William the Silent that the author decided to devote the entire third volume to them, while the remaining eight years will be treated in the fourth volume.

Farnese is depicted here as an extremely successful diplomat and military tactician. The situation confronting him in the year 1578 was peculiar and delicate. The provinces in the extreme south of the Netherlands were won over by him on condition that no foreign troops should be used in the Low Countries. The natives were Walloons and not especially friendly to the Flemings. Farnese treated them with the utmost courtesy and tact, with the result that gradually they ceased to insist on keeping out the dreaded Spanish troops. Another difficulty which he was able to surmount has been analyzed with exemplary precision and in great detail.

Philip II had determined to deprive Farnese of his political prerogatives. He was to share the reins of government with his mother, Margaret of Parma, who concurred in the wishes of the Spanish monarch. However, both she and the obstinate king were forced to yield to the astute prince. Whether or not the finesse of young Farnese affected Philip II to the latter's advantage, it is important to note that this supposedly shortsighted king of Spain now evinced a very clear understanding of the whole situation in the Netherlands. His change of mind saved the royal cause of Spain in the southern provinces. The material presented here by the author throws welcome light on an episode that has hitherto been obscure and ill understood.

The following two years (1582–1584) were filled with dramatic events, culminating in the assassination of Farnese's principal adversary. Assisted by fresh forces from Spain and Italy, and taking full advantage of the despair left in the ranks of his opponents by the despicable intrigues of the duke of Anjou in the southern provinces, Farnese proceeded to conquer the great cities of Flanders; first Ypres, Bruges, and Ghent, and finally Antwerp. Just as he reached the walls of the great commercial metropolis, he received tidings of the death of William of Orange. His joy was immense, and although some of his sentiments expressed on this occasion do not meet with approval from the pen of the author, we can fully appreciate Farnese's position.

It is not too much to say that in these two splendid volumes by Van der Essen we see the fruit of admirable research based upon the labors of Belgian, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, French, and German scholars. Much of the older secondary material has now become obsolete, and we may study the king of Spain and the prince of Parma in a more favorable light than that shown in the portraits of a school that has passed on.

The University of Michigan. A. Hyma.

Report on the Manuscripts of the Late Reginald Rawdon Hastings, Esq., of the Manor House, Ashby de la Zouch. Edited by Francis Bickley. Volume III. [Historical Manuscripts Commission.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1934, pp. xvi, 435, 8*s*.) The second volume of the Hastings Manuscripts ended in 1699 and after a hiatus of twenty-five years the third volume opens with 1724. The correspondence which covers the years from 1724 to 1817 can be divided into four parts: that of Theophilus, ninth earl of Huntingdon, from 1724 to 1746; that of Francis, tenth earl, from 1746 to 1789; that of Francis, second earl of Moira and nephew of the tenth earl, from 1793 to 1815; and the letters of Warren Hastings to Sir Charles Hastings, illegitimate son of the tenth earl, from 1802 to 1817. Because of the lack of interest shown and the unimportant part played in public life by the two earls of Huntingdon, the first and second sections are important mainly for the light thrown on social life. The third section shows the earl of Moira as the

friend of the Prince of Wales and as a national political figure before he made his great military reputation in India. In the main these three parts are made up of letters written to the three earls.

To anyone interested in eighteenth and nineteenth century English history this volume is certain to be most welcome. It gives the correspondence of an important family of this period which rivals in interest many of the better known eighteenth century diaries and collections of letters. It provides unity by tracing the activities of three generations of the same family. The number of letters showing individuality and sparkle is unusually high, which may be explained by the fact that so many able and well-known persons were writing on personal matters to intimate friends or relatives.

The ninth earl of Huntingdon, although he seemed to possess the ability necessary to play an important part in public life, preferred to devote his energies to religious and literary interests. His wife was the Lady Selina Huntingdon so well known later as the friend of Whitefield and the founder of the religious body known as the Lady Huntingdon's Connexion. Their son, the tenth earl, appears to have inherited only his father's aversion for public life. Judging by letters written to him by Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, and others, while he was still in his teens, he was a youth from whom much was expected. However, he appears to have preferred a life of ease and enjoyment at his country home and abroad to an active political life or to an interest in religion. The most interesting letters written by Lord Moira are those describing to his uncle the campaigns in America and those explaining to other persons why he did not become first lord of the treasury in 1812. In the final section of the volume the letters of Warren Hastings give us a vivid picture of the great proconsul in retirement. We see him managing his Worcestershire estate and following with keen interest the conduct of public administration in England and in India.

The index is full and satisfactory, and the introduction by Mr. Francis Bickley is helpful in calling attention to the more interesting and important letters.

Western Reserve University. DONALD G. BARNES.

Napoleon Self-Revealed: Three Hundred Selected Letters. By J. M. Thompson, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, pp. xvi, 383, $3.00.) "Letters are, upon the whole, the most truthful as well as the most interesting of historical documents." This challenging statement opens the editor's introduction. Very fastidious or very cantankerous would be the person who would not grant that this collection of letters is highly interesting. This is assured by the personality of the writer, by the content of the missives, and by the skillful selection made by the compiler. That the correspondence of Napoleon affords a veracious self-revelation of the author, not a few would hesitate to affirm. That, in his

letters, the emperor correctly described events or stated situations, even on the basis of his own best information at the moment, assuredly can not be soberly maintained. The evidence of this is abundant in the editor's brief but illuminating annotations.

The selection of 292 letters out of the 41,000 estimated to be in print has been no light task. In time they range from 1784 to 1815, and in content, over many aspects of Napoleon's personal moods and public activities. It would be gratuitous to criticize the choice of items included—it is excellent. Yet any other competent student of Napoleon's career would have produced a different list—not necessarily a better one—for the range of choices is so great, and each compiler would reveal his own personality quite as much as he would present the emperor self-revealed. Napoleon himself, in fact, at different times and for varying purposes, painted hundreds of self-portraits, and at last at St. Helena tried in vain for nearly a half-dozen years to produce his own definitive likeness.

The translations are the editor's own and read admirably. Critical examination does not lead to so definite or satisfactory a conclusion. A few random tests have caught one letter with a sentence of the original omitted and another with a sentence not in the original, besides several minor inaccuracies of a factual character. The translation is strongly idiomatic rather than a moderately exact reproduction of the phrasing, grammar, and rhetorical form of the original. The general effect is usually fair and sometimes laudable, but at other times the translation has been "pepped up" far beyond any warrant in the original text. Nonetheless, there are few books on the Corsican that one would prefer to commend to the ordinary reader.

Wesleyan University. GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Reaction and Revolution, 1814–1832. By Frederick B. Artz, Oberlin College. [The Rise of Modern Europe, edited by William L. Langer.] (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1934, pp. xiii, 317, $3.75.) In recent times we have been showered with national histories, and one welcomes the series of which this volume will be an important part. The editor announces that the purpose of his contributors is to present a synthesis in the history of Modern Europe. Synthesis in the history of a period is too often lacking, and the reason for that may be, in part, that the tendency in recent historical training has been to place too much emphasis on a limited field of study. Synthesis requires vision, imagination, and a philosophical mind checked and trained by careful discipline. Such, one is led to believe, is the gift of the author of the present volume. He presents in clear and convincing outline the developments in thought, in economic conditions, and in constitutional development, and shows how the movements in the various countries of Europe are contemporaneous, similar in essence, and yet varied in form and extent.

The author is particularly successful in chapter III, which is entitled "The Search for Authority". Here De Maistre, Methodism, Hegel, and German Pietism are treated together. It was not an easy task which Professor Artz assumed, and he has retained throughout the remaining chapters a lucid and convincing presentation. Necessarily such a treatment requires great care in the matter of eliminations and omissions. In this difficult problem the author has displayed sound judgment and discrimination.

Professor Artz has sought for a theme or themes on which a definite synthesis of Modern Europe may be based and he believes that he has found them in two ideas, namely, "the widening influence of English institutions and inventions and of the French conception of liberty on the feudal and agricultural states of Europe". The reviewer would be the last person in the world to disagree with Professor Artz in the selection of these two themes as a basis for a synthesis of European history in his period, but it seems to him that the word *liberty* is not made entirely clear in its significance. To Frenchmen and, often, to other Continentals, *liberty* was one thing and *equality* was another. It is, one believes, true, that equality was preached before liberty and that the Frenchman still distinguishes between them. It is indeed likely that the author intends one to include the other, but this is not clearly brought out in the text.

There are excellent bibliographies for each chapter. It is unfortunate that the publishers have relegated the illustrations to the last section of the book, for the illustrations have the peculiar distinction of being significant, interesting, and well chosen. It would have served well the purpose of this able study to have had them as running comments for what is a decidedly interesting and illuminating synthesis of European history from 1815 to 1832.

Yale University. JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

Economic and Social Investigations in Manchester, 1833–1933: a Centenary History of the Manchester Statistical Society. By T. S. Ashton, Reader in Currency and Public Finance in the University of Manchester. With an Introduction by the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, and an Index of Reports and Papers of the Society. (London, P. S. King and Son, 1934, pp. xii, 179, 5*s*.) This history of the Manchester Statistical Society contributes much interesting detail on the intellectual life of an important group of Manchester leaders in economic study and social work. It affords a striking contrast to the work of Prentice and Cobden in the Anti-Corn Law League. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, James Heywood, William Langton, and W. R. Gregg were primarily interested in building up an effective technique for the application of statistical methods to the description and analysis of economic and social problems. For a decade the activities of the society were largely directed toward social surveys dealing with health, welfare, and popular education. The more important of these surveys covered

a small group of northern towns selected to show the special features of the social problem in the newer industrial towns. The work of the society exerted considerable influence upon the social reforms of the period.

For several years, 1842–1850, the intellectual work of the society was dominated by John Roberton. Contributions to the theory of seasonal fluctuations were made by T. H. Williams in 1857, and phases of business cycle theory were developed by John Mills. W. S. Jevons became a member of the society in 1865, and though none of his primary work was first published by the society, much of his best work was done while he was at Manchester. His presence brought new interests and new contacts, leading to closer association with professional economists and statisticians.

This little volume presents rather vividly an interesting problem in historical interpretation. Introduction and text emphasize the fact that the Manchester Statistical Society was the first to be founded in England, as the Royal Statistical Society in London was not established until 1834. Now, it appears that both of these societies were set up as a result of discussions at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1833. Furthermore, the general problem was really raised by Quetelet, who was present at that meeting. The Association added a statistical section. Local societies were founded in Manchester, London, and ultimately in six other provincial towns. The Manchester group, thus, did not lead or initiate this movement. The casual treatment of the movement in England is itself misleading, but the absence of any reference to Quetelet gives an utterly false impression of statistical development in the thirties. It is not sound historical presentation to separate a particular event so completely from its context.

Harvard University. ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi. Translated by Eiichi Kiyooka. With an Introduction by Shinzo Koizumi, President of Keio University. (Tokyo, Hokuseido Press, 1934, pp. xviii, 370, $3.50.) Few autobiographies have been written by Japanese, so the appearance of an excellent English translation of one of the best known of these is a welcome event to those who would enlarge their acquaintance with Japanese life. Fukuzawa Yukichi was born in 1835 in a samurai family of the Nakatsu clan. As a youth he devoted himself to the study of Western civilization, then accessible through Dutch works brought in at Nagasaki. This knowledge won him unusual opportunities for foreign travel. He crossed the Pacific in 1860 in the first steam vessel to carry the Japanese flag to the United States. He visited many of the European countries as a member of a Japanese mission in 1862, and he was again sent to the United States in 1867. After each journey abroad he wrote extensively of what he had seen and learned. He founded a school which developed into Keio University, one of the great private institutions of Japan, and later he established the *Jiji* newspaper. To him modern Japan

owes much. This is the merest outline of a very busy and fruitful life, which ended in 1901. The autobiography was dictated in 1898 for publication in *Jiji*. It therefore possesses the flavor of a spoken narrative, but the accuracy and fullness of a more carefully prepared manuscript has been sacrificed. It was Fukuzawa's intention to issue such a volume, treating in more detail of important events in which he played a significant part, but death overtook him. Mr. Kiyooka, the translator, is a grandson of Fukuzawa. He has done an excellent piece of work, and he has added a short index and some notes.

P. J. T.

High Command in the World War. By William Dilworth Puleston, Captain, United States Navy. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, pp. xii, 331, $3.00.) Rather oddly, this volume takes up only the first two years of the war. The year 1917 is dealt with in a page or so, while 1918 is dismissed in a single sentence: it is like a history of the Civil War ending with Antietam. Much of the book is made up of brief notes on rather disconnected topics; some are rather stereotyped, while others (such as the comments on the plans of campaign in 1914) are much too inaccurate for a work issued in 1934. The campaigns of 1915 and 1916 are more carefully studied, and the author avoids indulging in clever touches worked up in the light of afterwisdom. At its best, his work shows careful thought and clear judgment; and the all too familiar note of armchair brilliance is pleasantly lacking. After the more popular writing of recent years, a note of common sense is doubly refreshing.

The solid abilities of Haig, his supreme loyalty to his King, his country and his allies, and his indomitable faith in the British army, more than compensated for the less showy qualities which undeniably he lacked.

It is easy for bright young critics with a smattering of military terminology to ransack complicated casualty returns, turn them to prove almost any thesis, and thereby demonstrate the unfitness of such leaders as Haig. It is a necessity for certain civilian Cabinet officers, who during the World War repeatedly interfered with the British military leaders in their control of the British army, to attack the record of Haig, whose technical advice they would not heed. . . .

But it is a safe prediction that despite these attacks, as time goes on, the great qualities of Haig will become increasingly appreciated by his countrymen. Our own Grant was dubbed a 'butcher' after the battle of Cold Harbor, but today it is recognized that he adopted and steadily pursued the one best method to defeat Lee. In time, the soundness of Haig's decisions and the persistent courage with which he pursued them, will appeal to his countrymen.

Cambridge. T. H. Thomas.

The Treaty of Trianon and European Peace. By Count Stephen Bethlen, Formerly Prime Minister of Hungary. With a Preface by The Rt. Hon. Lord

Newton. [Four Lectures delivered in London in November, 1933.] (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1934, pp. xiii, 187, $3.50.) In 1919 when the Treaty of Trianon was submitted to the Hungarian government, the latter was informed that the "One Thousand Years of Hungary's Existence" were a historic injustice so far as non-Hungarian nationalities were concerned. This charge Count Bethlen is at pains to refute by arguing that the Magyars were the original element which founded the Hungarian state. The other nationalities entered the territory largely as a result of the colonization policy of the Hapsburg emperors after the devastation of the Turkish wars. In short the non-Magyars rather than being oppressed, bettered their condition on coming under Hungarian rule. Count Bethlen even holds that the Croats after 1868 had "no reason whatever for complaining of their having been in any way oppressed" since they had their local autonomy!

Speaking with impassioned sincerity the author shows how the treaties of 1919 made international problems of what were formerly internal governmental problems of Austria-Hungary. These have become graver year by year for, through the alliances which have developed, the great powers have been drawn into the maelstrom of central European conflicts. The only solution according to Count Bethlen is, of course, a revision of the Peace Treaties so that Hungary would regain all its lost territories. Only by revision could the injustice done not only to Magyar, but to Croat, Slovene, Slovak, and Ruthenian be righted. He holds that only the Croats and Rumanians left their ancient allegiance of their own will, and that if a free plebiscite were held in these sections, they would be glad to return to the Hungarian state where they would be granted full autonomy, a thing which they are denied today. Should the Transylvanians prefer independence to autonomy an independent state might well be established. This would be in line with Transylvania's separate historical development. Treaty revision would have to be the work of the great powers, and today it is largely contingent upon a change in the attitude of France. The various schemes of Danubian confederation are held to be impractical because they rest on an unsound political substructure. Little hope is expressed of settling matters by guaranteeing minority rights. For the present minority treaties and their guarantee by the League the author has only scathing contempt, a feeling which the events of the last session of the League has justified.

The book fulfills admirably its purpose, the clear and vigorous argumentation of the Hungarian point of view. But the author—one cannot help but feel that he does it knowingly—underestimates the forces arrayed against the resurrection of the old Hungarian state.

Bowdoin College. E. C. Helmreich.

Problems of the Pacific, 1933: Economic Conflict and Control. Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Banff, Can-

ada, 14–26 August, 1933. Edited by Bruno Lasker and W. L. Holland. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1934, pp. xvi, 490, $5.00.) Half of this volume is made up of a summary in ten chapters of the conference proceedings, the general topic of which was "economic conflict and control". The subjects dealt with included shipping in the Pacific, instability of currency, differences in standards of living, differences in labor standards, Japanese expansion, the United States recovery program, China's reconstruction program, Ottawa—a co-operative attempt at recovery, and finally, economic conflict and public opinion. The remainder of the volume is devoted to a group of selected documents prepared by members of the Institute. These include: the control of industry in Japan, the agrarian problem in China, rural industries in China, Chinese government economic planning, population and land utilization in the Philippines, effects of the Imperial Economic Conference on the trade of member countries of the Institute of Pacific Relations, economic consequences of the Ottawa agreements, notes on the economic consequences of recent events in Manchuria, and the text of a security pact for the Pacific area.

The volume is a distinct improvement on those that have preceded it. The editors have attempted, with some success, to summarize the discussions and to amplify them by liberal quotations and references to data papers. This feature might be carried still further in future volumes. It is assumed that the data papers represent the results of careful research. It would seem therefore that their preservation in the *Proceedings* of the Institute is of much greater consequence than the record of round-table discussions, suggestive as these undoubtedly are. For instance T. Uyeda's "Future of Japanese Population" (p. 122) might well have been printed in full in preference to Document VIII (p. 423) on Manchuria, which is at best merely a summary of readily accessible information.

Despite these limitations, however, the volume is a valuable addition to the growing list of Institute publications.

The University of Kentucky. PAUL H. CLYDE.

Documents of American History. Edited by Henry Steele Commager, New York University. [Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, General Editor.] (New York, F. S. Crofts and Company, 1934, pp. xxi, 454, $4.00.)[1] The author undoubtedly intends his book as an aid to teachers of the general college courses in American history. The selections are limited in the main to documents of an official and quasi-official character. Sources of the letter, memoir, travels type are deliberately excluded as unsuitable. No two editors would make the same choice of the documents considered essential to a proper understanding of his subject. Professor Commager's selection merits serious consideration as adequate for his purpose. The work is

[1] Also published in two volumes with 1865 as the dividing line; $2.50 each.

notably original and well balanced in the choice of documents and above all comprehensive. Nearly five hundred documents bear witness to its completeness. The introductory notes and accompanying references will be distinctly helpful. The work begins with "Privileges granted to Columbus, April 30, 1492", and ends with "Anti-War Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, June 15, 1934" (extending the Kellogg-Briand Pact to the American states).

Western Reserve University. ELBERT J. BENTON.

The Spanish Conquistadores. By F. A. Kirkpatrick, Emeritus Reader in Spanish in the University of Cambridge. [The Pioneer Histories, edited by V. T. Harlow and J. A. Williamson.] (London, A. and C. Black; New York, Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. xiii, 366, $5.00.) Students accustomed to use the admirable monographs in this series will not be surprised to find that this latest item has many virtues, among them conciseness coupled with completeness, invariable fairness of judgment and serenity of criticism, and a literary style of a purity and clearness rarely met with in these days.

Beginning with Columbus, the epic and stirring story is told in twenty-seven chapters which follow a sanely conceived plan both chronological and geographical in its logical arrangement. Into what may be termed the esoterica of Spanish American history Mr. Kirkpatrick does not attempt to go. Thus, there is no mention of the possible pre-Columbian voyages of the Portuguese (as to which Professor Prestage in his volume in this series has a good deal to say), nor are various of the more obscure early explorations on the mainland of South America mentioned. On the other hand, the main stream of events is described in a masterly fashion, and with a wealth of incident and of wise comment. The chapters march after one another rhythmically, like well-planned scenes in a heroic pageant; yet it is all done with a complete lack of romantic rhapsodizing on the one side and of harsh judgments on the other, the conquistadors being presented as they were, an extraordinary set of men of varying moral qualities, but all marked by a daring and a devotion to their divers purposes which command our sincerest respect.

The period covered by this book extends, roughly speaking, down to 1550. By that date the period of the conquest was over and the period of settlement and of exploitation had begun. Students interested in the conquest proper will, therefore, find this book to be a thoroughly satisfactory general discussion of that time in nearly all its aspects and in its whole geographical range. From Mexico to the Strait of Magellan the Spanish conquerors fought, labored, and built. If, inevitably, they destroyed civilizations of varying degree which they found in the New World, they also constructed another civilization in its place, often incorporating materials derived from native sources. All this is brought out with graphic clearness by Mr. Kirkpatrick.

As his book is undoubtedly destined to serve, for years to come, as a guide to more detailed studies it is a pity that the bibliographical material—obviously vast and varied—upon which he based his work is not cited more fully. Perhaps in later editions this will be done.

In conclusion one must say a word of praise about the beautifully drawn maps by Emery Walker which in this volume, as in others of "The Pioneer Histories", add greatly to the pleasure of using this thoroughly praiseworthy book. They are so clear and so complete that one is never at a loss for precise information as to the locale of the events described. In short, American readers, no less than English, are greatly in debt to Mr. Kirkpatrick on account of the splendid work which he has given us.

Pomfret, Connecticut. PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

The Search for the Northwest Passage. By Nellis M. Crouse. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934, pp. 533, $4.00.) This book is the fulfillment of a long-time wish of the reviewer. Numerous accounts have been written of the different adventurers who from the time of Cabot to that of Amundsen undertook to find the northwest passage to Cathay, especially those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and Sir John Franklin of the middle of the nineteenth century. But not until the publication of Mr. Crouse's book has anything been produced, as far as the reviewer knows, that relates connectedly the story as a whole. It is true that there is a rather scant treatment of the explorers prior to the nineteenth century, who are disposed of in the introductory chapter. The author's reason for passing over them so lightly is doubtless the frequency with which their story has been told, including his own rather comprehensive account of them in his *In Quest of the Western Ocean,* published in 1928. The book is, therefore, mainly devoted to the explorations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when all idea of the northwest route as a practical one, if it should ever be discovered, had been given up and when the only impelling motive to find it was that of adventure or scientific curiosity. Here are related in considerable detail the quests of Ross, Buchan, Parry, Franklin, Back, Simpson, Dease, and McClure, all of which failed to a greater or less degree, and the successful achievement of Amundsen.

Except for one title, which oddly enough is the author's earlier work, the bibliography is confined to the adventurers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and consists almost exclusively of accounts either by the adventurers themselves or their contemporaries. The excellent map at the close of the book is likewise confined to the same group of adventurers. It shows very clearly the routes they took both by land and by sea.

Louisiana State University. E. M. VIOLETTE.

Essays upon Field Husbandry in New England and Other Papers, 1748–1762, by Jared Eliot. Edited by Harry J. Carman, Professor of History in Columbia University, and Rexford G. Tugwell, Professor of Economics in Columbia University, with a Biographical Sketch by Rodney H. True, Professor of Botany in the University of Pennsylvania. [Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture, I.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934, pp. lvi, 261, $3.50.) It is fitting that the new series of "Studies in the History of American Agriculture" should begin by republishing the *Essays* of Jared Eliot, for almost certainly these *Essays* themselves constituted the beginning of our literature on American agriculture. Jared Eliot, the pastor-physician of New Haven, introduced into Connecticut the new system of agriculture being developed in England. This new system was concerned with a better choice of crops, improvement of the soil, and the use of machinery. Farm management and the marketing of products are not dealt with. Eliot did not slavishly imitate English methods. Indeed, his main distinction lay in inculcating the idea of experimentation in agriculture. In practice, this meant little more than the adaptation of English methods to American conditions.

Prefaced to the six essays is an excellent biography of Eliot, contributed by Dr. True. A single article by Eliot on the manufacture of iron is included. In addition, there is a collection of letters written to Eliot on the subject of field husbandry and iron manufacture.

Harvard University. N. S. B. Gras.

Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana, 1776–1783. By John Walton Caughey. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1934, pp. xii, 290, $3.50, bound; $3.00, unbound.) Though Bernardo de Gálvez acted on a small stage, his performance was on the whole an excellent one, and Dr. Caughey has written a spirited and sympathetic account of it. The first three chapters of his book give the colonial background—the administrations of Gálvez's predecessors, Ulloa, O'Reilly, and Unzaga. The next two chapters bring him to Louisiana and dispose of the relatively unimportant subjects of trade regulation and colonial development. Then the author takes up his central theme, Gálvez's activities in relation to the war of the American Revolution, to which eight of the remaining nine chapters are devoted. The last chapter covers Gálvez's closing years in Louisiana, Spain, Cuba, and Mexico.

It is both the principal virtue and the principal fault of this book that it is primarily—almost exclusively—a local study. It tells in great detail what Gálvez did while he was governor of Louisiana; it does not explain satisfactorily the policy of the Spanish court, in conformity with whose orders he followed the course that he did. The author's account of the granting of Spanish aid to the United States is confused and misleading (see especially pp. 55, 56, 88, 90, 91, 101, 135, and 136), and he misstates (pp. 248, 249)

Spanish official opinion regarding the potential danger to Spain involved in the establishment of American independence. That his position on the latter question is quite untenable is shown by documents printed in Yela Utrilla's useful work, *España ante la Independencia de los Estados Unidos,* which is listed in the bibliography but, so far as the reviewer has been able to discover, is not cited in the footnotes.

In spite of these and other defects, the book is creditable to its author. Though the plan of it was rather narrowly conceived and though it does not alter the main outlines of a story already familiar to specialists, it does mark him as a scholar of more than ordinary promise.

Cornell University. ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

France and the Establishment of the American Catholic Hierarchy: the Myth of French Interference, 1783–1784. By Jules A. Baisnée. [Institut Français de Washington.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, pp. ix, 182, $2.50.) Jules A. Baisnée is secretary general of the *Institut Français de Washington,* the purpose of which is to "promote the study of French civilisation and history . . . [and] to preserve the memory of French contributions . . . by publishing documents, [and] special studies". This monograph is a contribution to the cause. With a formidable array of documents and with all the accents of finality the author attacks the "myth of French interference" in the establishment of the American Catholic hierarchy. After a passing, but adequate notice of lesser lights he levels his lance against the two outstanding historians of the Catholic Church in America, John Gilmary Shea and Peter Guilday.

The best service of the reviewer will be a brief statement of the author's thesis and a description of the unique arrangement of the book. The thesis runs:

> Far from attempting to use religion as a means to secure her influence in the United States, France in 1783–84 showed only a generous and disinterested cooperation with the Holy See and the American representative [Franklin] in trying to provide for the needs of the Church in the land she had been the first to befriend and recognize as an independent nation.

The book contains six chapters, the first of which is devoted to a clear exposition of the problems confronting the Holy See, the American Catholics, and the French officials. Then follow four chapters, each with an appendix containing all the pertinent documents and aggregating sixty pages. These chapters deal with the Roman initiative in opening negotiations; with French co-operation, in which there is no trace of intrigue; with the Roman designation of the ex-Jesuit John Carroll as Superior of the Mission; and with the American reaction, in which an old resentment against the Roman propaganda was evident. The book concludes with a closer examination of the

genesis of the "Myth of French Interference". Even apart from the author's thesis, the book is highly commendable as a model of presentation. The importance of its subject matter will not be contested by anyone who is interested in the precarious beginnings of the Catholic Church in America.

St. Louis University. R. CORRIGAN.

Le Canada d'hier et d'aujourd'hui. Par Gustave Lanctot. (Montreal, Albert Lévesque, 1934, pp. 295, $1.00.) This little volume of almost three hundred pages is a combination of history and statistical summary. The first 167 pages are devoted to a brief, fast-moving survey of Canada's evolution from the days of the French regime to its present status in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The rest of the book is a kind of statistical survey of all kinds of interesting data about the present Dominion—geology, geography, climate, flora and fauna, census returns, ethnic groups, mill, mine, farm, factory, transportation, education, religions, and many other items, including an excellent last chapter on literature and the fine arts in the Dominion.

To find a few slips and omissions, or to emphasize disagreements with the author's selection of materials in so brief a discussion, would be as easy as it would be unfair, keeping in mind that the fundamental purpose of the book undoubtedly is to provide in small compass, a readable account of Canadian development, not for the specialist in the field, but for the reader who needs a general introduction to a country whose history has remained a closed book even for many professional historians.

Dr. Lanctot perhaps overemphasizes the features of popular self-government in the French period. His characterization of Lord Durham's activities is too brief to be entirely fair to Durham, and more than a half page could well have been devoted, even in so short a book, to the achievement of responsible government as an established practice of government. A term like *"remarquablement doué"*, applied to Louis Riel (p. 124), will be challenged. The conflicts between the French and English elements in Canada, questions of foreign policy, and particularly the constant interrelations of Canadian and United States history might well have received relatively more space. This is equally true of party politics in Canada. But after all, criticisms of this kind rest on differences of opinion about matters of selection and emphasis in a short, popular, historical narrative. Naturally, a French-Canadian scholar, justifiably proud of the achievements of his race and his nation, will have a perspective somewhat different from a reviewer from across the international border. The fact remains that Dr. Lanctot has written a vivid and interesting introduction to the history of Canada and has provided, in the last third of his book, convenient and helpful summaries of information about the present-day Dominion. The book contains three maps and a short bibliography of seventeen titles.

The Ohio State University. CARL WITTKE.

Trade and Travel around the Southern Appalachians before 1830. By Randle Bond Truett. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1935, pp. xii, 192, $2.50.) This book hardly lives up to what should be expected from its title. Instead of showing in any systematic fashion the sweep of population around the southern Appalachian highlands and the development of trade from colonial times down to 1830, the author has contented himself with the grouping of a great many interesting descriptions of roads and incidents of travel. His most logically sustained chapter deals with post roads, and especially with the one designed to run from Washington to New Orleans. He discusses in another chapter inns and taverns, but for the most part he uses the method of long quotations from travel accounts and newspaper advertisements. Throughout the book there are too many long quotations to make an easy straightforward narrative. There can be little reason for encumbering the text with pages of tables of the latitude and longitude of places. The states included in the study are Georgia (which receives most attention), Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The mass of supporting footnotes and the lengthy bibliography clearly show that this work is no superficial study; but the footnotes do not always correctly refer to the sources, and the bibliography does not include all the works cited in the footnotes. Laws, a particularly fruitful source for roads, were not used at all. An appendix gives what is undoubtedly the most complete list of inns and taverns for this region. There are six interesting illustrations, consisting of a map and five reproductions of contemporary sketches.

The University of Georgia. E. M. Coulter.

Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm, 1858–1865. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Arthur J. Larsen, Head of the Newspaper Department, Minnesota Historical Society. (Saint Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1934, pp. ix, 327, $2.50.) Jane Grey Swisshelm was a vigorous and entertaining journalist from the early 1840's until 1865. In the *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter* (1847–1852), continued as the *Family Journal and Visiter* (1852–1857), she supported the anti-slavery cause, denounced "slave-catchers" and corrupt politicians, agitated for the rights of women, aided the temperance movement, and spoke her mind freely upon personal and literary topics. In 1857 she transferred her activities to St. Cloud, Minnesota, and there, in the columns of a new paper—the *St. Cloud Democrat*—she continued her lively attacks upon all forms of "human chattledom". Her crusading zeal led her also to the lecture platform, and until 1863 she spoke frequently throughout the state on the political and social problems of the day. During her absence from the editorial office on these tours she contributed to the *Democrat* chatty personal letters full of detailed comments upon the conditions of travel, the places she visited, and the experiences she encountered. In 1863 she betook herself to the national capital, and there

for two years she lived in the midst of wartime excitements, sending back to the *Democrat* highly colored observations on all that she saw and heard.

In his volume, *Crusader and Feminist,* Mr. Larsen has brought together from the rare file of the *St. Cloud Democrat* the newspaper letters of this unusual woman, and has presented them skillfully under fourteen revealing chapter headings. The first five chapters are devoted to Mrs. Swisshelm's reports of her lecture tour through pioneer towns and settlements in Minnesota. Vivid glimpses of the hotels, the churches, and the homes of the region emerge as one follows the dauntless Jane on her travels through "Central Minnesota in the Fifties" and "Through Southern Minnesota by Stage". Nine additional chapters contain the letters written from Washington—letters filled with caustic comments on wartime measures, emotional outbursts of praise and blame, detailed accounts of hospital service, bits of gossip, and occasional pictures of prominent figures. As an introduction to the letters, Mr. Larsen has supplied an excellent biographical sketch of Mrs. Swisshelm. The information given in this sketch plus the self-revelation furnished by the letters will commend this book to all readers who enjoy good biography; while the information contained in its varied and entertaining pages will prove valuable to students of history.

Wellesley College. BERTHA-MONICA STEARNS.

The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847–1861. By Henry T. Shanks, Professor of History in Birmingham-Southern College. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1934, pp. xi, 296, $3.00.)

The Secession Movement in Alabama. By Clarence Phillips Denman, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Miami University. (Montgomery, Alabama State Department of Archives and History, 1933, pp. xiii, 190, $2.00.) Though these two books are alike in that each presents the story of the secession movement in a Southern state, they are dissimilar in many more respects than that one deals with Alabama, while the other deals with Virginia. Though each tells the story from the Wilmot Proviso to 1861, the Denman book contains one hundred pages fewer than the Shanks book, and has approximately half as many words per page. The Shanks book seemingly presents every detail of a complicated story, involving geographical sections and all the major and minor factions of the major political parties. It is an excellent compendium of minute factual material, which a historical specialist may wish to read in its entirety; but few others (probably mostly Virginians) will wish to do so. The book will be of value as a reference work for points of detail. The placing of the footnotes at the end of the book seems to be a concession to the general reader, though probably few such readers will have the interest and courage to wade through the welter of detail. The Denman book on Alabama, how-

ever, presents no unnecessary details, is a masterly summary in the best historical essay style, is attractively written and hence easily read, and leaves clear-cut impressions with the reader. The generalizations are not glittering and meaningless, but are clearly phrased, meaningful, and significant. Though the footnotes are at the bottom of the respective pages to which they refer, they will not be a hindrance to the general reader.

The conclusion may be warranted that there is a place for each type of book on each state: Shanks might now well write for Virginia a book of the type Denman has produced for Alabama, and vice versa.

The University of Chicago. C. S. Boucher.

The Greater Southwest from the Spanish Conquest to the Twentieth Century. By Rupert Norval Richardson, Professor of History, Simmons University, and Carl Coke Rister, Associate Professor of History, University of Oklahoma. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1934, pp. 506, $4.00.) Historians who have welcomed sectional histories such as those of the ante bellum South and the Pacific Northwest, will no doubt be deeply interested in the ambitious effort of Professors Richardson and Rister to produce a first one-volume history of the "Greater Southwest". As described by the authors, the work is intended to be either a textbook or a general reference history of the Southwest. Admittedly, their definition of the Southwest is somewhat loose, for "neither date limits . . . nor geographical boundaries have been adhered to rigidly". It is noticeable that while in general their story of the Southwest closes with the end of the nineteenth century, some portions of the vaguely defined region are chronicled down to the present day. Such an arrangement, while perhaps logical enough as explained by the authors, inevitably lends to the work an uneven, unfinished appearance, enhanced by the frequent occurrence of blank pages.

An apparently sincere effort is made to present a chronological sequence of events, from the Spanish penetration of the Southwest through a discussion of the "Clash of Civilizations" in Texas, the causes and results of the Mexican War, the Mormon migration, the mining frontier, early transportation, the Civil War in the Southwest, the disposal of the Indians, to a concluding series of chapters on the economic development of the Southwest, with such topics as the railways, the cattle industry, outlaws and vigilantes, and agrarianism. At the beginning of the volume the Greater Southwest is approximately defined as that portion of the United States south and west of the treaty line of 1819, plus Oklahoma, Kansas, and eastern Colorado. It is evident, however, that the authors merely sketched much of this vast region, and were very provincially bound by personal ties to Texas and Oklahoma. California is rather neglected, especially in its later and economic history; Nevada is almost ignored; Utah's history progresses little beyond her admission to statehood; and although Colorado, Arizona, Kansas, and New

Mexico fare somewhat better, their share of the authors' discussion is still decidedly inferior. Such a lack of balance limits the volume's value for text or reference purposes.

Besides these general criticisms, a number of minor specific errors might be noted as follows: the interchangeable use of the terms "Wasatch" and "Sawatch" for Colorado's western mountains (pp. 18, 23); "Santa Clara" for Santa Cruz River, in Arizona (p. 53); the inexact use of "Spanish" for Mexican authorities (p. 136 and *passim*); the omission of Lower California from the list of James Gadsden's topics of negotiation with Mexico (p. 221). In literary style the volume is undistinguished, and much of it is over-statistical. The sketch maps contain a number of petty errors in spelling and boundaries, and the index could well be more detailed. The bibliographical references are most useful for chapters on those topics in which the authors are personally interested.

Despite its shortcomings, however, the work is to be commended for its bold effort to summarize in small compass the varied history and life of the great Southwest. It is a worthy pioneer in its field.

Arizona State Teachers College. RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic. By Angie Debo. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1934, pp. xvi, 314, $3.50.) Under this intriguing and, at first glance, somewhat dubious title, Dr. Debo has put forth the history of the Choctaws from their earliest contact with Europeans to the present day, prefacing it with remarks on primitive manners and customs. In respect to fully half of the book no claim is set up to complete originality of research. It is a tale retold; but told, on the whole, surprisingly well, graphically, with new emphasis and, from the sociological point of view, with richer and fuller detail. The least satisfactory part is that dealing with events preceding and immediately following the American Revolution.

The rise of the Choctaw Republic begins in 1826, with the substitution of elective for hereditary chiefs. Then, in the post-removal years, the Choctaws experimented with one constitution after another, obviously with the forlorn hope of rendering their tribal integrity impervious to further attack from the ultra-democratic zeal of meddlesome and covetous whites. The last essay at republican forms came in the sixties with the adoption of the Doaksville constitution. The years had added not alone a bicameral legislature, but a modified legal code, the English bill of rights, and the old revolutionary compact theory of government, the whole being grafted upon what was most essential in the old order of things, the community ownership of property. The hybrid scheme and its working out are admirably discussed in chapter VII, one of the best in the book.

The second half covers the period since 1866, is largely economic history and a genuine contribution to our knowledge. Politically considered, it has

to do with the effects—some of them very far-reaching—of the unfortunate if, when all circumstances are taken into account, excusable Indian adherence to the cause of the Southern Confederacy, which culminated, eventually, in the inevitable loss of tribal autonomy. Autonomy depended upon isolation; but isolation was doomed when Congress provided, although arbitrarily and illegally, for a railway grant of Indian land. In the wake of the railroads came a multitude of white intruders, complications innumerable, situations and problems most perplexing. The end is what the author has chosen to designate the fall of the Choctaw Republic. It was no single, isolated occurrence, unless the organization of the State of Oklahoma be given that distinction; but the steps leading to it were many and gradual, allotment in severalty the determining. Taken in its entirety, the narrative is most illuminating and instructive and, to American national pride, not at all flattering. The book repays a very careful reading.

Aberdeen, Washington. ANNIE H. ABEL-HENDERSON.

The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation. By WILLIAM MENZIES WHITELAW, A.M., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, McGill University. With a Foreword by the Right Honourable Sir Robert Laird Borden, G.C.M.G. (Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. x, 328, $3.50.) The Canadian federation and its constitution were planned in 1864 at two peripatetic conferences, one at Charlottetown, which moved on to Halifax and St. John, the other at Quebec, whose members made for Niagara Falls by way of Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto once the main outlines were established. Realizing that remarkably little was known about these meetings, over ten years ago Professor Whitelaw set himself the task of piecing together the known records and supplementing them with whatever more he could find. His remarkable successes in forgotten Prince Edward Island newspaper files and in unknown and unused source materials in Canada and England are almost concealed by the modesty of his footnote and bibliographical references, but he has assembled enough evidence to make sustained, if rather brief, accounts of both conferences. He has, however, shown the way to anyone who wishes to enlarge upon this portion of his work.

The accounts of the conferences form less than a third of his book because he has performed another historical service in laying the ghost of "Maritime Union". The unwilling federation of the Maritime Provinces with the distant Canadas happened to coincide in time with their relative economic decline after two generations of prosperity and proud achievements. Naturally federation was blamed, and the myth grew up for lack of critical examination that the Canadians came to Charlottetown and hoodwinked the Maritime conference there into abandoning a popular movement for local union in favor of the fatal larger scheme. Professor Whitelaw is able to show conclusively that Maritime Union was not a popular or urgent move-

ment and that almost all the small force it had in 1863–1864 came from an opinionated English lieutenant governor of New Brunswick who believed he was forwarding British policy by using the scheme to block the possibility of a union with the disreputable Canadas. Moderately before, and mightily after federation, Maritime Union was the defensive response to Canadian expansion of a region condemned by geography to a limited potentiality and to relative decline in North America.

Modern Canadian scholarship sees Canadian federation as the product of fear of the United States, of anxiety to prevent loss of the West, of the railway building age, and of constitutional inadequacies in the Canadas. Recently the vital importance of British pressure to bring it about has been demonstrated. Professor Whitelaw, in establishing the background of these forces, reveals a rare breadth of knowledge and critical capacity. He reinterprets with authority Canadian, Maritime Province, and colonial office policies in the generation before 1867. His book is an example of fine scholarship lightly worn, for in spite of great complexity of subject, he always writes lucidly and often with distinction. If it has a recurrent fault, it is that in the interests of brevity it is sometimes too allusive, as, for instance, about the odd complex produced in the Canadas by the canal war with the United States and British free trade. Occasionally, also, his footnote references are too brief to be clear.

Columbia University. J. B. Brebner.

American Consultation in World Affairs for the Preservation of Peace. By Russell M. Cooper. With an Introduction by Dr. James T. Shotwell. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. xiv, 406, $3.50.) Of all the various aspects of our foreign policy since the War there is probably none that has occasioned more tension and controversy than the question of our proper attitude toward the problem of world organization and our relation to collective efforts for international peace and stability. On specific issues growing out of our relations with individual countries we can at times achieve a fair degree of definiteness and agreement. On the broader question of our relation to the whole we are confused and divided. Yet that is the very crux of the matter, the phase of the problem upon which light is most needed. To its better understanding Professor Cooper makes an immensely valuable contribution in a survey of American consultation in actual practice, as illustrated particularly in the Russo-Chinese controversy, the Manchurian crisis, and the Chaco and Leticia disputes.

It is an inductive, scientific study, not an advocate's brief. One may not accept all the author's conclusions; but it is difficult to escape the inference from the facts, which seem to demonstrate, among other things, the inevitableness of consultation where our interests are involved; the risk of isolation in independent action; the inadequacy of superficial contact or

ambiguous connection, as a substitute for organic co-operation; the practical impossibility of maintaining artificial prepositional distinctions (sitting "at" or "on", co-operating "with" or "in"); the confusion created by unsynchronized, uncorrelated efforts; the difficulty of developing a unified and coherent policy around two foci (Washington and Geneva); and, finally, the inconsistency of participating in consultation while reserving "complete independence" and denying the implication of joint responsibility. For all that, consultation is a recognized and settled practice of our State Department. We have formally and categorically acknowledged the principle (as a moral obligation inherent in the Pact of Paris) and acted accordingly. But our efforts have frequently been misdirected and futile, not from want of will to co-operate, but from lack of established procedure and adequate technique, and from certain inhibitions, fear of entanglement, dread of commitment, and the like.

By elimination and comparison the author reaches the conclusion that the League of Nations, with all its weakness, is the best agency for consultation, as a continuing association, with facilities for investigation and report, with machinery that may be quickly set in motion, and with a technique which, however defective, is more dependable and efficient than the improvised procedure of a conference *ad hoc*. One may not agree; but whatever one's conviction, there can be no two opinions about the important service Professor Cooper has rendered in presenting the results of a study based upon an exhaustive exploitation of the documents, and controlled by the most exacting standards of thoroughness, precision, and judicial impartiality.

Brown University. THEODORE COLLIER.

The Strategy of Raw Materials: a Study of America in Peace and War. By Brooks Emeny. With the Statistical Assistance of J. Edward Ely. [Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College.] (New York, Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. xiv, 202, $3.00.) This volume of optimistic graphs and figures sounds a note of unwonted cheer amidst the melancholy chantings of our economic hypochondriacs. Such notes have been muted so long that there is the charm of novelty in being told, for example, that "in so far as resources of raw materials and foodstuffs may be taken as a factor of national power, the situation of the United States is without parallel". As this statement suggests, the book is primarily an examination of our military self-sufficiency, but it likewise shows conclusively that we have physical resources beyond other nations to make us happy and prosperous even in times of peace.

To be sure we lack some important industrial raw materials like manganese and rubber, but the British, with whom we never anticipate armed conflict, have these in abundance and also facilities for placing them on our

doorstep in time of emergency. Our near neighbors in Latin America can supply us with several of the rarer metals—mostly from mines owned in the United States. After the book was in press important discoveries of chromite, another indispensable mineral of which nature neglected to give us an adequate supply at home, have been made in the Philippines—at least under the memory of the stars and stripes.

Since it is the vogue of the moment to measure our power as a belligerent against that of Japan, and it is impossible in a short space to make other comparisons from the mass of figures Mr. Emeny marshals for our edification, we content ourselves with the following statistics showing the relative resources of the two nations. The figures are the percentage that domestic production is of annual consumption: foodstuffs, U. S., 101.8, Japan, 100; iron and steel, U. S., 100.6, Japan, 58.5; chemicals, U. S., 100.2, Japan, 91; coal, U. S., 104, Japan, 108; petroleum and its products, U. S., 106.4, Japan, 17.2; copper, U. S., 117.8, Japan, 92.4; lead, U. S., 95.8, Japan, 6.1; nitrates, U. S., 67.4, Japan, 67.8; sulphur, U. S., 132.1, Japan, 101.8; cotton, U. S., 215.4, Japan, 4.3; aluminum, U. S., 54.4, Japan, none; zinc, U. S., 110.6, Japan, 24.6; rubber, none in either country; manganese, U. S., 7.9, Japan, 43.2; nickel, U. S., 2.3, Japan, none; chromite, U. S., 0.1, Japan, 99.7; tungsten, U. S., 23.9, Japan, 110.0; wool, U. S., 54.6, Japan, none; potash, U. S., 28.9, Japan, 4.9; phosphates, U. S., 136.9, Japan, 14.0; antimony, U. S., 0.2, Japan, 0.7; tin, U. S., virtually none, Japan, 13.1; mercury, U. S., 40.0, Japan, 0.1.

A good bibliography, maps showing the geographical distribution and trade routing of industrial raw materials with reference to the United States, informing charts, and recent and apparently carefully verified statistics contribute to make the volume valuable for reference as well as interesting for consecutive perusal.

The Library of Congress. VICTOR S. CLARK.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The list of the Program Committee for the Chattanooga Meeting is as follows: J. Fred Rippy, Duke University, chairman; James P. Baxter, 3d, Harvard University, Charles W. Ramsdell, University of Texas, Arthur E. R. Boak, University of Michigan, P. J. Treat, Stanford University, Austin P. Evans, Columbia University, B. B. Kendrick, North Carolina Woman's College, W. E. Lunt, Haverford College, Franklin C. Palm, University of California, Arthur C. Cole, Western Reserve University, Arthur J. May, University of Rochester, Mitchell B. Garrett, University of North Carolina, Kent R. Greenfield, Johns Hopkins University, E. M. Coulter, University of Georgia.

Under the auspices of the Littleton-Griswold Fund the second volume of "American Legal Records" has appeared. The title is *Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674–1784* (1935, pp. vii, 777, $7.50), and the editor, Richard B. Morris, assistant professor of history, College of the City of New York. It is a handsome volume printed by the Plimpton Press and published by the American Historical Association. Orders may be sent to the Executive Secretary, Dr. Conyers Read, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia.

Another volume has been added to the long list of notable works published under the Revolving Fund, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Appleton-Century, 1935, pp. xii, 293, 5 maps, $3.50), by Samuel Flagg Bemis. This is the first of two volumes on *The Foundations of American Diplomacy, 1775–1823*.

The Carnegie Corporation has made available to the Association for the next fiscal year a final grant of $3500.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

[Research work undertaken to satisfy the requirements of advanced degrees not included]

III. Medieval Europe.

The schools and the University of Erfurt during the Middles Ages. Prog. 1 yr. Gray C. Boyce, *Princeton*.

IX. Great Britain and Ireland.

(b) Since 1485

Life of Sir John Eliot. Prog. 1 yr. Harold Hulme, *New York University*.

XII. Scandinavia.

The Nobel Peace Prize and its administration: a study of the Norwegian Storting's Nobel committee and the Norwegian Nobel Institute. Prog. 1 yr. Oscar J. Falnes, *New York University.*

XVIII. The United States.

(7) Before 1782

Diplomatic History of America to 1763. Prog. Max Savelle, *Stanford.*

(8) Since 1782

Pardon and amnesty during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Prog. J. T. Dorris, *Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College.*

PERSONAL

Edmond Stephen Meany, professor of American history at the University of Washington, died on April 22 at the age of 72. He was a graduate of the Territorial University of Washington in 1885 and later pursued graduate studies at the same institution and at the University of Wisconsin. He served as a member of the state legislature from 1891 to 1893. In 1897, he became professor of history at the University of Washington, serving as head of the department, and as editor of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* since its beginning in 1906. His chief historical interest was in Northwest history, to which he contributed many pamphlets, articles, and books. He kept in close touch with the pioneers of Washington, becoming the chief guardian of local history. His interest in people was so personal and his sense of loyalty so strong that a closely knit web of relationships was created which made him the best known figure in the state. At the university, he became the keeper of traditions, maintaining many contacts with the students. His favorite recreation was mountain climbing to which he devoted the latter part of each summer. He was president of The Mountaineers club for twenty-seven years. His interest in the Indians of the state enriched his knowledge of local history and led to his adoption into the Nez Perce tribe as "Chief Three Knives" in 1900; into the Nootka tribe as "Sun Warming in the Morning" in 1901; as "Two Arrows" into the Sioux tribe in 1907. His career could scarcely be surpassed in its contacts with many phases of local development and in his sincere interest in all that concerned the state and the university. The greatest monument to his work was his collection of Northwest Americana. His published works included the *History of the State of Washington, Washington from Life,* and *The Origin of Washington Geographic Names.* E. D.

George Buckle, editor of the earlier volumes of the *Letters of Queen Victoria,* died on March 12 at the the age of 81. He was editor of the London

Times for many years. He was also joint-author, with W. F. Monypenny, of the *Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield* (6 vols., 1910–1920).

Robert Carr Bosanquet, distinguished archaeologist, died on April 22 at the age of 63. His researches in Romano-British archaeology were especially fruitful. He was also director of the British School at Athens from 1900 to 1906. In 1906 he became professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Liverpool, holding the chair for fourteen years.

Raymond Guyot, one of the distinguished historians of modern France and a professor at the Sorbonne, died on December 27 at the age of 58. He collaborated with J. F. Thénard upon a biography of *Le conventionnel Goujon* (1908). He was also one of the joint authors of *L'œuvre législative de la Révolution* (1913), *Manuel de politique européenne* (1929), and *La Révolution française* (1930). His most important work was *Le Directoire et la paix de l'Europe* (1911).

Otto Brandt, professor of Medieval and Modern history at the University of Erlangen, died on January 16 at the age of 42. He had served at Kiel from 1919 to 1928 and had made notable contributions to the history of Schleswig-Holstein, especially *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins: Ein Grundriss* (1925) and *Geistesleben und Politik in Schleswig-Holstein um die Wende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (2d ed., 1927). He also wrote *Caspar von Saldern und die nordeuropäische Politik im Zeitalter Katharinas II* (1932).

Erich Caspar, professor of Medieval and Modern history at the University of Berlin, died on January 22 at the age of 55. Professor Caspar had also taught at Königsberg and Freiburg i. B. While at Königsberg he published a work on *Hermann von Salza und die Gründung des Deutschordensstaat*. His *Papstgeschichte*, of which two volumes were published before his death (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI, 364; XL, 104), was his most important work, for which he had made fruitful studies, especially on the beginnings of the Roman bishopric. He also collaborated on the great collection of *Monumenta Germaniae historica*. It may be noted that Fritz Rörig, of the University of Kiel, has been made his successor at Berlin.

The April issue of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* is devoted chiefly to memorials of the late Dr. Lyon Gardiner Tyler.

The issue of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for April, designated the "Henry P. Dart Memorial Number", contains, besides articles mentioned elsewhere in these pages, a record of the commemorative exercises in memory of Mr. Dart as lawyer, historian, and editor of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, together with a paper by him on the "Career of Dubreuil in French Louisiana".

The fellowships within the historical field, awarded by the American Council of Learned Societies, with the project upon which the incumbent is

engaged are: Mary E. Bradshaw, the cultural development of the South Slavs in the nineteenth century; J. E. Fontenrose, University of California, a historical study of the Delphic oracle; W. E. Gwatkin, jr., University of Missouri, Pompey and the organization of Roman provincial government; C. W. Jones, Oberlin College, a study of medieval chronology based on Bede's *De temporum ratione;* R. R. Palmer, Cornell University, aspects of eighteenth century thought, particularly in France. The grants-in-aid are: Jacob Hammer, Hunter College, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae;* Elizabeth Kimball, transcriptions of the Peace Rolls of the reign of Richard II; John L. La Monte, University of Cincinnati, revision of the *Familles d'outremer;* Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina, medical science at the schools of Chartres and Reims, tenth and eleventh centuries; Bertha Putnam, Mount Holyoke College, history of English justices of the peace in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; Gertrude R. B. Richards, Wellesley College, letters of Lorenzo de' Medici; S. H. Thomson, University of Chicago, influence and diffusion of the works of Grosseteste.

The Social Science Research Council has awarded the following grants-in-aid in the historical field: Robert G. Albion, Princeton University, the rise of the port of New York, 1760–1860; Alex M. Arnett, North Carolina Woman's College, Claude Kitchin and the World War; Arthur C. Bining, University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania iron manufacture, 1800–1865; Witt Bowden, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, recent changes in the productivity of labor in England; Arthur N. Cook, Temple University, British enterprise in Nigeria; Isaac J. Cox, Northwestern University, constitutional development in Chile; W. F. Craven, New York University, biography of Robert Rich; Lewis P. Curtis, Yale University, York in the eighteenth century; Ebba Dahlin, University of Washington, social democracy in Sweden, 1914–1934; Angie Debo, the effect of land allotment upon the members of the five civilized tribes of Indians; William E. B. Dubois, Atlanta University, history of the Negro troops in the World War; Arthur L. Dunham, University of Michigan, the industrial evolution of France, 1815–1848; H. Noel Fieldhouse, University of Manitoba, a biography of Henry St. John, viscount Bolingbroke; W. Freeman Galpin, Syracuse University, a biography of Samuel J. May; Robert B. Hall, University of Michigan, a reconstruction of the feudal road system and its relation to present transportation and settlement in Japan; Earl J. Hamilton, Duke University, John Law's system, the first experiment with a managed currency; Miles S. Malone, Hill School, the influence of the Rappahannock and Potomac ports on the economic and social development of colonial Virginia; Jeannette P. Nichols, the domestic and foreign policy of the United States on the silver question; S. Morley Scott, University of Michigan, the law of the province of Quebec, 1764–1775; Horace Secrist, Northwestern University, national bank failures in the United States, 1921–1932; Henry T. Shanks, Birmingham-Southern College, Virginia during the Civil

War; Ralph E. Turner, the controversy over social policy in England, 1832–1852; Elizabeth Y. Webb, Vassar College, United States merchant shipping with Mediterranean ports before the War of 1812; Walter F. Willcox, Cornell University, the demography of the United States. The post-doctoral fellowships are: Harold C. Deutsch, University of Minnesota, local government and administration in Germany; Helen Sullivan Mims, the political, social, and economic thought of sixteenth century Spain; Philip E. Mosely, Union College, the evolution of peasant economy in regions of late industrial development; Raymond P. Stearns, the economics of mercantilism (reappointment). Pre-doctoral field fellowships are: Guy A. Lee, Harvard University, railroad, elevator, mill, and other records of mid-western agrarian history; Marion C. Siney, University of Michigan, the development of the law of neutrality during the World War; Engel Sluiter, University of California, the Dutch colonies and trade in the Western Hemisphere. A list of appointments to pre-doctoral fellowships for graduate study will be given in a later number of the *Review*.

The Guggenheim Foundation has announced grants to Arthur E. Christy, Columbia University, to complete a book on the consequences primarily to Western Europe of the process by which the world has become Europeanized, to be based on the notes and lectures of the late Professor W. R. Shepherd, and to Chester W. Clark, of Princeton University, for a study of Bismarck's technique in manipulating public opinion and an investigation of unpublished sources bearing on his diplomacy before 1871.

Dr. R. D. W. Connor, head of the National Archives, has announced the appointment of Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, formerly of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, as chief of the Division of Classification, and Mr. Thomas M. Owen, jr., assistant director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, as chief of the Accessions Division. Dr. Hill has had wide experience in archival work, especially while engaged in cataloguing documents relating to the United States in the archives of the Indies at Seville, and while director for Spain of the European Mission of the Library of Congress. Mr. Owen during the past two years has conducted a survey and inventory of the Alabama state and county archives under the RFC, CWA, and FERA. This enterprise employing a staff of over 150 workers compiled lists of more than a million and a quarter documents.

The following appointments may be noted: *Columbia University*, Dr. Frank Tannenbaum as lecturer in Latin American history, Professor A. A. Vasiliev as lecturer under the Barnard Foundation for the year 1935–1936, Mr. George Bailey Sansom as visiting professor of Japanese studies for the first term; *Harvard University*, Dr. Dietrich Gerhard as lecturer and tutor for the second half of the year; *Ohio State University*, Dr. Howard Robinson as professor, beginning with the summer quarter; *Syracuse University*, Dr. C. Grove Haines as assistant professor.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *Brown University,* Sinclair W. Armstrong to be assistant professor; *Columbia University,* J. Bartlet Brebner to be associate professor, Walter C. Langsam, Samuel McKee, jr., and John H. Wuorinen to be assistant professors, and at *Teachers College,* Mary E. Townsend to be associate professor; *Dartmouth College,* John G. Gazley was made professor at the beginning of this academic year, Albert L. Demaree and Herbert W. Hill to be assistant professors; *Harvard University,* C. Crane Brinton to be associate professor; *Johns Hopkins University,* W. Stull Holt and Frederic C. Lane to be associate professors; *Miami University,* O. J. Frederiksen to be assistant professor, C. William Vogel to be acting assistant professor for the year 1935–1936; *New York University,* Ross J. S. Hoffman to be assistant professor; *Stanford University,* Thomas Andrew Bailey to be associate professor; *State College of Washington,* Herman J. Deutsch to be associate professor, Francis J. Bowman to be assistant professor; *Wellesley College,* Barnette Miller and Judith Blow Williams to be associate professors.

Yale University announces the designation of Professor John M. S. Allison to the chair of Randolph W. Townsend Professor of History; of Professor Ralph H. Gabriel to be Larned Professor of American History; Professor Sydney Knox Mitchell to be Durfee Professor of History.

At Wesleyan University government and history which have always formed one department have been separated. Dr. Sigmund Neumann has been reappointed as lecturer in economics and social science.

Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission and editor of the *North Carolina Historical Review,* has been appointed head of the department of history at the University of North Carolina. Dr. Charles Christopher Crittenden, assistant professor of history at the University of North Carolina, will succeed Dr. Newsome as secretary of the Commission.

Professor W. E. Smith has been appointed chairman of the department of history at Miami University.

Leaves of absence for the year 1935–1936 have been granted as follows: *Columbia University,* Robert L. Schuyler for the first term, Harry J. Carman and Austin P. Evans for the second; *Franklin College,* John F. Cady for two years to be head of the history department of Judson College, University of Rangoon, Burma; *Miami University,* J. H. St. John for the year to take the place of Professor Payne of Grinnell College; *University of Minnesota,* Harold C. Deutsch for the year; *Princeton University,* Dana Gardner Munro, for the first semester to be Carnegie Visiting Professor to several South American universities; *Wesleyan University,* Herbert C. Bell for the first semester and G. M. Dutcher for the second; *Yale University,* R. H. Gabriel for the second half year.

Further appointments for summer sessions may be noted: *Boston University*, Roland D. Hussey; *Humboldt State Teachers College*, J. H. St. John; *Miami University*, Vernon E. Puryear; *Northwestern University*, E. R. Adair; *University of Oregon* (Portland session), Walter C. Barnes; *Pennsylvania State College*, R. C. McDanel and G. D. Harmon; *University of Virginia*, Sydney M. Brown; *University of Washington*, first term, R. C. Clark.

Charles M. Andrews received the Pulitzer Prize in History for his *Colonial Period in American History*, and Douglas Southall Freeman the Pulitzer Prize in Biography for his *R. E. Lee*, with honorable mention for David S. Muzzey for his *James G. Blaine*.

James Alton James, William Smith Mason Professor of History at Northwestern University, retired with the close of the academic session. He had taught there for thirty-eight years. Among his many services to the historical profession, his studies in the development of the Northwest and his chairmanship of the first Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association will be especially remembered.

Professor Wilbur H. Siebert on April 17 presented a paper before the American Antiquarian Society on "The Underground Railroad in Massachusetts", a summary of four chapters on the subject which will be printed in the *Proceedings* of the Society.

Dr. George Sarton, editor of *Isis*, was elected on March 29 a corresponding member of the Academia de la Historia of Madrid.

J. Graham Cruickshank, lately of the British Guiana civil service, after an extended study of archival problems in Europe has returned to Georgetown, the colonial capital, as superintendent of archives.

Dr. A. Brackmann, director of the Prussian State Archives, has been compelled by pressure of work to retire from the joint editorship of the *Historische Zeitschrift*.

In the course of a detailed and appreciative review of Dr. Chester W. Clark's *Franz Joseph and Bismarck* (*Hist. Zeitsch.*, Mar., pp. 585 ff.) Professor Frahm, of the University of Altona, makes the following comments upon a group of American scholars interested in the Bismarckian period:

Es ist ja bekannt, dass eine Reihe von amerikanischen Gelehrten (Lord, Langer, Steefel, Clark u. a.) auf dem Arbeitsgebiet und mit den bewährten Arbeitsmethoden der älteren deutschen Bismarckforschung weiterarbeiten. Sie bemühen sich neuerdings um eine Verwirklichung des Ideals der "Vollständigkeit", wie sie den meisten, vor allem den deutschen Gelehrten der Gegenwart in der Regel schon aus "technischen" Gründen versagt bleibt, indem sie grundsätzlich von sämtlichen in Betracht kommenden Ländern gleichzeitig die Aktenbestände und die einschlägige Literatur in ihrer Gesamtheit zu durchdringen und erschöpfend zu verwerten suchen. Dazu gehört abgesehen von jahrelanger Arbeit in verschiedenen europäischen Haupt-

städten ein ungewöhnliches Mass von Arbeitsenergie und Sachlichkeit, wenn damit zugleich ein objektiver Standpunkt im Sinne Rankes gewonnen werden soll, wie er den Amerikanern als "neutralen" Beobachtern als Ziel vorschwebt.

Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt, of the University of Chicago, will spend the summer months in China and Japan, then cross Siberia to Moscow, remain in Russia until sometime in November, and come out by way of Poland and Germany, returning to Chicago for the winter quarter. Professor I. J. Cox, of Northwestern University, has left for a period of study on the constitutional development of Chile. He will return in September. Professor Harold J. Noble, of the University of Oregon, will spend the summer in research study and travel in Korea and Eastern Siberia.

GENERAL

General review: Kaarlo Blomstedt, *Nyare historieforskning i Finland* [recent historical research in Finland] (Hist. Tidskr., 1935, no. 1); David Norrman, *Nyare polsk historisk literatur* [recent historical literature in Poland] (*ibid.*); H. Zatschek, *Bericht über die Neuerscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der Urkundenlehre, 1932–1933* (Mitteil. Österr. Inst. f. Geschichtsf., XLVIII, nos. 3–4).

A *Journal of Social Philosophy: a Quarterly devoted to a Philosophic Synthesis of the Social Sciences* is announced for October. The editors are Professor R. M. MacIver, of Columbia, Assistant Secretary of Commerce John Dickinson, Dean Paul Klapper, College of the City of New York, Professor Carl Becker, of Cornell, and Professor Jacob Viner, of Chicago. Its aims recall those of the *Revue de synthèse*, directed by Henri Berr.

The meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences announced for this summer at Prague has been postponed until the Easter week of 1936, and will be held at Bucharest.

The sixteenth annual meeting of the Union académique internationale was held in Copenhagen, on invitation from the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, on May 13–16. It was attended by delegates of fourteen countries, those of the United States (American Council of Learned Societies) being Dr. Waldo G. Leland, of Washington, and Professor William A. Nitze, of the University of Chicago. The meeting was marked by the unanimous election of the German academies (Berlin, Leipzig, Heidelberg, Göttingen, and Munich) and of the Academy of Vienna to affiliation with the Union.

The Twenty-sixth International Congress of Americanists will meet in Seville on October 12.

No. 25 of the *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences is entirely devoted to iconography and numismatics. An article by

Jules Belleudy on the authentic portraits of Mirabeau may be particularly signalized. There is also a detailed account of the Centro de estudios históricos at Madrid and a bibliography of the historical journals, extant and expired, of Rumania.

The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has laid before the League of Nations Assembly the project of a collection of works on the native civilizations of America and on the history of the discoveries of the sixteenth century, the whole to comprise about sixty volumes. The authors are to be scholars of established authority in the fields concerned. The price per volume will be about sixty francs. Expressions of interest in the plan may be sent to the office of the Institute, 2, rue de Montpensier, Paris.

No. 4, vol. XCVIII, of the *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire* (Académie royale de Belgique) is of unusual interest as it contains an account of the centennial celebration of the commission on November 28, 1934. The other papers presented are also important: "Lettres inédites et mémoires du Baron de Ville touchant la machine de Marly", edited by Édouard Poncelet; "La Keure bruxelloise de 1229", by F. Favresse; "Choix de documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de l'expansion commerciale des Pays-Bas en France au Moyen-Age (XII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)", by Henri Laurent; and "La correspondance des consuls anglais en Belgique pendant la Révolution de 1830", by R. Demoulin.

The growing appreciation of the importance of intellectual history is indicated by the establishment at Harvard University of a new doctoral degree in the "History of Science and Learning". In making the announcement President Conant remarked: "The history of science, the history of ideas, the history of scholarship, and the history of universities should now be occupying the attention of many instead of a few." The purpose of the creation is to meet the demand for teachers in this field.

A "List of the unbound manuscripts in the Cavagna Collection" in the University of Illinois Library, together with alphabetical lists of families and places referred to, has been compiled by Meta Maria Sexton, of the library staff, and typed. In this Italian collection there are about 4000 manuscripts, 160 of which are on vellum, and the earliest is dated 1116. Papal bulls, investitures, decrees, diplomas, acts of various bodies, and laws indicate the type of material in the collection. A carbon copy of the list is available at the University of Illinois Library for interlibrary loan and another copy has been given to the Library of Congress.

The Department of History, University of Iowa, has issued a second volume of *Abstracts in History*, made from selected dissertations, the unabridged copies of which, on file in the university library, are accessible to scholars working in similar fields. The publication is no. 3, vol. X, of the Studies in the Social Sciences.

The Huntington Library *Bulletin* for April opens with an article important to students of the history of the Pacific Coast, "California Books and Manuscripts in the Huntington Library", by Professor John C. Parish, of the University of California at Los Angeles. In this number also Mr. Godfrey Davies makes another of his substantial contributions to studies on the Commonwealth, "The Army and the Downfall of Richard Cromwell". The history of science is dealt with in "Robert Recorde's Mathematical Teaching and the Anti-Aristotelian Movement", by Francis R. Johnston and Sanford V. Larkey. Among the topics touched upon in the "Notes" are "Frobisher's Third Voyage", by George B. Parks, "Battle Abbey Accounts", and "Champion Letters".

The London Missionary Society, Broadway, Westminster, has opened its archives to research. Among the materials available are letters from the South Seas, South Africa, India, China, Madagascar, and the West Indies throughout the period of the society's activity.

The first two volumes of the *Årsbibliografi över Sveriges offentliga publikationer* covering the years 1931 through 1933 have just been issued by the Riksdagsbiblioteket, Stockholm, and Sweden is thus the first of the Scandinavian countries to publish a current list of government documents. In recognizing the importance of preparing an annual list of all Swedish official publications a royal order (1931, no. 72) requires that each department and agency of that government shall furnish regularly one copy of each of its publications to the Riksdagsbiblioteket. In the volume the arrangement is alphabetical by the name of the issuing office, and there are adequate indexes. J. B. C.

The Portuguese ministry for foreign affairs, by decree of February 13, has established an official Commission on Portuguese Diplomatic Archives with authority to publish indexes, catalogues, and collections of documents of Portuguese diplomatic history. The minister for foreign affairs will be its president, the vice president and secretary will be functionaries of that ministry, and the others on the Commission will be university professors and various directors of archives and libraries.

A committee has been formed in France for the purpose of erecting a statue of Alexis de Tocqueville on the principal square of Barfleur, his native town, upon the anniversary of the publication of his masterpiece, *Democracy in America*. It is hoped also, if subscriptions are adequate, to place a tablet and a medallion in the boat train station at Cherbourg as a greeting to incoming Americans. Another project of the committee is a Centenary edition of Tocqueville's *Souvenirs*, including hitherto unpublished sections of the manuscript. Subscriptions to this enterprise, as a means of honoring one to whom many Americans owe a great intellectual debt, may be sent to M. Pierre de La Raudière, 161 Boulevard Haussmann, Paris.

In the *Tableau de l'expansion européenne à travers le monde* (Leroux,

1935, pp. 368, 25 fr.), published under the auspices of the Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises, Professor Alfred Martineau and Dr. L. Ph. May have constructed chronological tables of the events which make up the history of colonization by European peoples from the period of the Crusades to the early nineteenth century. The work is intended to facilitate the preparation of a general history of colonization, a project recommended by the International Commission of Colonial History at The Hague in July, 1932. As the ancient world had centered about the Mediterranean, so the authors regard the new world as equally influenced, on the one hand, by Asiatic waters and, on the other, by the Atlantic. The two major sections of the volume correspond to this division. In the list of dates are included certain repercussions in Europe of the movement of expansion; for example, the creation in 1626 of the Jardin des Plantes at Paris. With the dates frequently go explanations, the extent of which is supposed to be in some proportion to the importance of the events recorded. Dwellers along Massachusetts Bay will find it hard to comprehend why the founding of Boston should be given half a line, while on the same page three French trading companies should have twenty-two. This is, however, not typical. The introductions to the sections are often full of suggestion to the student of European expansion.

The volume entitled *De Lage Landen bij de Zee: Geillustreerde Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk van Duinkerken tot Delfzijl* (Utrecht, W. de Haan, 1934, pp. 712, 3.95 fl.), by Dr. Jan Romein, *et al.*, relates the cultural experiences of all those people who live along the North Sea coast between Dunkirk and the Ems and speak the Netherlandish tongue (Dutch and Flemish which are practically the same). The author was brought up under the tutelage of Professor Huizinga at the University of Leiden who, as is well known, has successfully championed the cause of cultural history. Much historical writing in the Netherlands, as that of Fruin and Blok, is essentially political, and phenomena of higher civilization, even if they are noted, are rarely depicted as organically related to all social, economic, and political factors. In Dr. Romein's account political events are carefully eschewed and social organization, economic life, political forms, art, religion, letters, science, and thought are brought forward and illustrated with many a happy instance. The volume is aptly illustrated so that every picture neatly describes some phase of culture. The task of subjecting the varied communities of the northern Low Countries and Flanders and Brabant in the south to a general treatment admittedly is a strenuous one, but the author has succeeded in giving us a lively picture in an animated style. This volume is welcome after the many jejune manuals with which we have been treated in the past. H. S. L.

Histoire des pays baltiques: Lituanie, Lettonie, Estonie, Finlande (Armand Colin, 1934, pp. 203, 10 fr. 50), by Jean Meuvret, belongs to the well-known "Collection Armand Colin". It is a very brief history of those territories on

the east coast of the Baltic Sea which today (since 1917) form four independent states. It is an excellent account, informed, scholarly, and interesting. After a geographical introduction shows how inevitable was the influence of foreigners on these states situated at the confluence of three worlds, the Slav, the German, and the Scandinavian, comes the story of the seven centuries of foreign domination (twelfth to the early twentieth century) during which Germans, Swedes, Danes, Poles, and Russians fought first the Baltic peoples and then each other on Baltic soil, until under Peter the Great and his successors they all came under the iron rule of Russia. This forms the bulk of the book. The thesis of the book is, briefly, that at the time of the German conquest in the twelfth century there was already in existence in the Baltic states an indigenous Baltic civilization. Each of the four states was, even then, the home of a nation, individual and distinct in language, customs, and traditions. Although greatly influenced by their neighbors and conquerors the Baltic peoples have nevertheless remained, underneath all this, fundamentally themselves. In his conclusion M. Meuvret develops this thesis and points out some of its necessary implications in regard to the Baltic states of today and tomorrow. J. S. O.

The aim of Miss Mary A. Nourse in *The Four Hundred Million: a Short History of the Chinese* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1935, pp. 375, $3.50) was to furnish high school or younger college students, as well as the general reader, with an account of China which should emphasize the life of the people and should be free from the technicalities of the subject. Long residence in China and a wide acquaintance with the literature of the subject have qualified her to accomplish the task. The book is furnished with good maps, it is well illustrated, and provided with bibliographical lists.

In *La lutte pour la paix* (Alcan, 1934, pp. xvi, 239, 15 fr.) Mariano H. Cornéjo presents the optimistic thesis that modern tendencies head definitely toward peace. This is developed in seven chapters and an epilogue, wherein the American, in particular, is flattered with pronouncements that he it is who holds the key to peace on earth, good will toward men. For it is in America that the principle of nationality, which is "the first fruit of the political cooperation of the continents" attains its fairest promise, that is, if one disregards the smaller states of Europe, which have likewise set a superlative example of the evolution of a peaceful culture. There has been a grievous surrender of peace leadership, the author holds, and an unprecedented loss of international prestige, since America abandoned her great leader, Woodrow Wilson, but the departure is temporary and the onward march will be resumed. Occasionally the zeal of propaganda leads to rash conclusions. Surely Germany does not regard, as M. Cornéjo would feign have us believe, the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France as an act of simple justice. And in face of conditions in the Trentino, in Macedonia, and elsewhere, what less rational than to surmise that "We shall never see again the warfare of a people against

a state which masters it by force"? M. Cornéjo relies on the moral forces of mankind increasingly to outweigh the military. "Le monde moderne est définitivement fermé pour les aventures militaires. La puissance sera pour les États capables d'organiser et d'étendre la coopération internationale qui est devenue la force réelle." Not always sound in its assertions and conclusions, *La lutte pour la paix* is brilliant and at times profound. L. M. S.

Vol. XXXIII (1934) of the *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* opens with a substantial essay on "Der zweite Aufstand im Kanton Basel", a continuation of "Die Entstehung der dreissiger Wirren im Kanton Basel", which appeared in vol. XXX. The author is Eduard Schweizer. The other two essays are: "Das Predigerkloster in Basel von der Gründung bis zur Klosterreform, 1233–1429", by Georg Boner, and "Die deutschen Kaiserdome des elften Jahrhunderts", by Hans Reinhardt.

In *Political Ethics: an Application of Ethical Principles to Political Relations* (Crowell, 1935, pp. xviii, 288, $2.00) Professor Daniel Sommer Robinson seeks to show that in a period like our own when political relations are so significant it is a mistake to countenance the sharp separation of philosophy and politics. One of his chapters discusses the "Soviet State", another the "Dictatorships", but the interest of the discussion centers in chapters VIII and IX which deal with the international problem. At the close of the volume are listed thirty "Cases for Discussion".

A volume entitled *Essays on the Law and Practice of Governmental Administration* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1935, pp. xvii, 321, $3.00), has been issued in honor of Frank Johnson Goodnow, president emeritus of the Johns Hopkins University. It has been "contributed by his students in grateful acknowledgment of his scholarly inspiration and counsel". The editors are Professors Charles G. Haines and Marshall E. Dimock. The introduction gives a sketch of Dr. Goodnow's career. The contributors of the essays are: John D. Fairlie, James Hart, George W. Spicer, Charles G. Haines, Milo R. Maltbie, Thomas R. Powell, Frank G. Bates, Charles C. Thach, and Marshall E. Dimock.

Professor Guy Stanton Ford's paper on "Are Revolutions Necessary?", read before the American Historical Association last December, has been printed in the *Journal* of the American Association of University Women for April.

In the *History of the King's Messengers* (Grayson and Grayson) V. Wheeler-Holohan, himself a foreign service messenger, tells a story reaching from the fifteenth century to the present time which will be of interest to students of foreign relations and to those with an interest in the byways of the past.

Historians will be interested in Percy Simpson's *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford) both because it

treats of a phase of history and because it contains information concerning the details of printing documents that have survived from those centuries.

The *Bulletin* of Emory University for July contains the addresses and discussions at the Eighth Annual Institute of Citizenship held at the university on February 11 to 15. The general subject was Political and Economic Problems of the South.

No. 35 of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society contains, besides reports of the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth annual meetings, several substantial papers, two of which are: "A Study of Brazilian Jewish History, 1623–1654", by Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom, and "The Hebrew Periodical Press in America, 1871–1931: a Bibliographical Survey", by Fannie M. Brody.

A great philanthrophy is described in the *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund: the Americanization of the Jewish Immigrant* (Printed for the Fund by the Jewish Publication Society, 1935, pp. xvii, 305), by Dr. Samuel Joseph, of the College of the City of New York.

Articles: Lester B. Shippee, *A Voice Crying?* [Presidential Address] (Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev., June); Carl F. Brand, *Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association* (Pacific Hist. Rev., June); Lucien Febvre, *Histoire de l'art, histoire de civilisation* (Rev. Synthèse, Feb.); J. Delevsky, *Notes critiques sur les origines et les thèses du matérialisme* (*ibid.*); *Bibliographie de Camille Jullian* [I] (Rev. Ques. Hist., Mar.); Robert J. White, *Some Opportunities of the Catholic Historian in the Reform and Progress of the Law* (Cath. Hist. Rev., Apr.); W. E. Brown, *The Value of the Teaching of Medieval History: a Discussion* (History, Mar.); Everett E. Edwards, *The Need of Historical Materials for Agricultural Research* (Agricultural Hist., Jan.); Harry J. Carman, *History and Technology* (Social Studies, Mar.); *Bibliographical Aids to Research: IV, General Lists of Books printed in England* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Feb.); G. H. Bolsover, *The Meaning and History of the Term 'Internuncio'* (*ibid.*); H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Lieven Archives* [with hand list] (*ibid.*); Tyler Dennett, *Mahan's "The problem of Asia"* (Foreign Affairs, Apr.).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: Paul Cloché, *Histoire grecque* (Rev. Hist., Nov.).

Reports of new discoveries are numerous. *The American Journal of Semitic Languages* for April gives a summary report of all expeditions at present at work in the Near East. *The American Journal of Archaeology* for March contains reports of discoveries in 1934 in Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria, by Albright, items from Athens, by E. P. Blegen, reports on Troy,

1934, by C. W. Blegen, and Corinth, 1934, by O. Broneer. Note also a summary by Payne in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* 1934, no. 2, of discoveries in Greece, the sixth report on the Agora excavations, by Oliver and Dow, in *Hesperia,* IV, no. 1 (1935), an account of the Mithraeum of Doura in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for March, and Cumont's comments on the fifth report of the excavations there in the *Revue archéologique* for December. G. H. Allen writes on Alesia in the *Classical Weekly* of April 8, and A. Grenier's "Chronique gallo-romaine" appears in the *Revue des études anciennes* for March.

For new documents and for bibliographies one may note A. Wilhelm on "Attische Pachturkunden" in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung,* XI, no. 2; D. M. Robinson on the new inscriptions from Olynthus in *Transactions* of the American Philological Association, LXV; papyrological bulletins, by P. Collart, in the *Revue des études grecques* for December and H. Henne in the *Revue des études anciennes* for March, also reports by A. Körte and U. Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung,* XI, no. 2. In this last appears an article by C. C. Edgar on a new letter of Apollonius the *dioecetes.*

For the criticism of historical sources note M. Hadas on utopian systems in Herodotus in *Classical Philology* for April, M. MacLaren, jr., on the relation between Xenophon and Themistogenes in *Transactions* of the American Philological Association, LXV, A. Klotz on Plutarch's sources for his life of Flamininus in *Rheinisches Museum,* LXXXIV, no. 1, and G. De Sanctis on Polybius and the relation between Rome and the Rhodians in *Rivista di filologia* for March.

A. Heuss continues his study of the legal aspects of Greek and Roman treaties in *Klio,* XXVII, no. 3, and two economic studies may also be noted, one by F. Heichelheim on currency and inflation in Hellenistic-Roman times in *Economic History* for February, and the other by T. R. S. Broughton on Roman landholding in Asia Minor in *Transactions* of the American Philological Association, LXV.

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has published as no. 13 of its Studies in Oriental Civilization, *The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship,* by Calvin W. McEwan (1934, pp. xii, 34, $1.00).

Introduction to Early Roman Law: Comparative Sociological Studies, the Patriarchal Joint Family, by C. W. Westrup, vol. II, *Joint Family and Family Property* (Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 192.) As the title shows, Mr. Westrup's point of departure is the Indo-European patriarchal joint family, and his method is the comparison of the vestigial remains of this in Iranian, Greek, Slavic, Germanic, and Celtic sources. There can be no doubt that this method often brings helpful analogies but it must be used conservatively, and with due regard for the historical conditions of Roman development. It is

precisely at this point that the author may be at fault. He follows Mommsen and Kübler in believing that the institution of joint family property remained in Rome until a comparatively late period, although he has improved on Mommsen to the extent of recognizing that *familia* in early Latin meant *res*. However the distinction he makes between *pecunia*, acquired 'personal' property of the housefather, and *familia*, the 'family' property, and his interpretation of the succession of the heir as a *continuatio dominii* lead him to the conclusion that in the much-discussed clauses of Table V of the XII Tables the father's right to dispose freely of his property by legacy applies to the acquired property only and not to the family property. This interpretation does not allow for possible development in Rome under the Etruscan kings and conflicts with the evidence of Cicero (*De Inv.*, II, 148) and of Pomponius (*Dig.* L, 16, 120). Although the book contains several interesting suggestions on the position of women and the origins and methods of early testation it seems to add little that is new in the field of Roman law, and on the whole represents a point of view which is somewhat out of date.

Articles: A. Herz, *Les débuts de l'écriture* (Rev. Arch., Dec.); J. A. R. Munro, *Pelasgians and Ionians* (Jour. Hell. Stud., 1934, no. 2); C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Zur Erwähnung der Ionier in altorientalischen Quellen* (Klio, XXVII, no. 3); J. Johnston, *Solon's Weights and Measures* (Jour. Hell. Stud., 1934, no. 2); G. De Sanctis, *La* taxis phorou *del 425 B. C.* (Riv. Filol., Mar.); *La prima spedizione ateniese nell' Occidente* (*ibid.*); S. Accame, *L'alleanza di Atene con Leontini e Regio* (*ibid.*); C. F. Edson, jr., *The Antigonids, Heracles, and Beroea* (Harvard Stud., XLV); E. Bickermann, *Les préliminaires de la seconde guerre de Macédoine* (Rev. Philol., Jan., Mar.); T. Frank, *A Stray Passage in Strabo, V, 1, 11* (Am. Jour. Philol., Apr.); W. H. Buckler, *Auguste, Zeus Patroos* (Rev. Philol., Apr.); R. Heuberger, *Zur Geschichte der römischen Brennerstrasse* (Klio, XXVII, no. 3); W. E. Gwatkin, jr., *Catiline's Attempt to place Himself in* Libera Custodia (Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc., LXV); O. W. Reinmuth, *The Edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander* (*ibid.*); M. S. Ginsburg, *Princeps Libertinorum* (*ibid.*); M. Hammond, *Corbulo and Rome's Eastern Policy* (Harvard Stud., XLV); L. R. Taylor, *The Sellisternium and the Theatrical Pompa* (Class. Philol., Apr.); Gunnar Ekholm, *Om romarnes handel paa Nordeuropa* [Roman trade in Northern Europe] (Fornvännen, 1934); M. I. Rostovtzeff, *La Syrie romaine* (Rev. Hist., Jan.).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: C. W. David, *American Historiography of the Middle Ages, 1884–1934* (Speculum, Apr.); *Travaux récents relatifs à la faculté des arts aux XIII^e–XIV^e siècles* (Rev. Hist. Ecclés., Apr.).

A second and thoroughly revised edition of Professor Sydney M. Brown's

Medieval Europe (Harcourt, Brace, 1935, pp. xiii, 635, $3.25) has been published.

In *Early Irish Laws and Institutions* (Burnes Oates, 5*s.*) Professor Eoin MacNeill has made an important contribution to the study of the old Irish legal system, which is just beginning to be explored by competent scholars.

The new Selden Society volume, LIII, *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre: being the Rolls of the Pleas and Assizes for Lincolnshire, 1218–1219, and Worcestershire, 1221* (Quaritch, 52*s.* 6*d.*), edited by Doris Mary Stenton, is valuable for materials on the legal, economic, and social history of the period, but especially as supplementary to Maitland's edition of *Bracton's Note-Book*, for the interlineations on these rolls have enabled the editor to show how Bracton made his extracts and to add to the list of rolls which, as Maitland showed, bear Bracton's marks.

Bouvines, victoire créatrice (Plon, 1935, pp. vii, 356, 18 fr.), by Antoine Hadengue, with a preface by General Weygand, offers a literary treatment of a patriotic theme based upon the standard scholarly works and a re-reading of the sources. R. A. N.

Another important study of a single community is to be found in *Statuti comunali di Villanova d'Asti*, edited by Pietro Savio (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1934). There are complete transcriptions of the statutes promulgated in 1414, together with other documents ranging from the origin of the commune in the eleventh century down to the sixteenth, when it became independent of Asti.

Articles: F. M. Stenton, *The Changing Feudalism of the Middle Ages* (History, Mar.); G. G. Coulton, *Student Numbers at Medieval Oxford* [Historical Revision, LXII] (*ibid.*); Mathilde Uhlirz, *Die italienische Kirchenpolitik der Ottonen* (Mitteil. Österr. Inst. f. Geschichtsf., XLVIII, nos. 3–4.); M. K. Bennett, *British Wheat Yield per Acre for seven Centuries* (Ec. Hist., Feb.); J. Saltmarsh and H. C. Darby, *The Infield-Outfield System on a Norfolk Manor* (*ibid.*); Albert Vogt, *La jeunesse de Léon VI le Sage* (Rev. Hist., Nov.); Vilhelm la Cour, *Kong Haralds tre Storverker* [King Harolds three great achievements] (*Aarböger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1934, no. 1); Robert Boutruche, *Les courants de peuplement dans l'Entre-Deux-Mers: Étude sur le brassage de la population rurale, première partie, du XI^e^ au XV^e^ siècle* (An. Hist. Éc. et Soc., Jan., Mar.); Samuel H. Cross, *Mediaeval Russian Contacts with the West* (Speculum, Apr.); Henry M. Willard, *A Project for the Graphic Reconstruction of the Romanesque Abbey at Monte Cassino* [drawings by Kenneth J. Conant] (*ibid.*); Clark H. Slover, *Glastonbury Abbey and the Fusing of English Literary Culture* (*ibid.*); Eugene H. Byrne, *Some Mediaeval Gems and Relative Values* (*ibid.*); Helen M. Cam, *Suitors and Scabini* (*ibid.*); Martin Lintzel, *Das Bündnis Albrechts I mit Bonifaz VIII* (Hist. Zeitsch, Mar.);

C. R. Cheney, *Legislation of the Medieval English Church* [I] (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); Eleanor C. Lodge, *The Constables of Bordeaux in the Reign of Edward III* (*ibid.*); C. R. Cheney, *The Diocese of Grenoble in the Fourteenth Century* (Speculum, Apr.); Armando Sapori, *Storia interna della Compagnia mercantile dei Peruzzi* (Arch. Stor. Ital., XXII, no. 1); Bernadino Barbadoro, *Gli atti consiliari di Firenze fino alla metà Trecento* (*ibid.*); Jeanne Vielliard, *Yolande de Bar, reine d'Aragon* (Rev. Ques. Hist., Jan.); Philippe Hofmeister, ed., *Les statuts du monastère des Bénédictines de Marienberg, 1437* (Rev. Bénédictine, Oct.).

FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

General review: Gaston Zeller, *Histoire d'Allemagne, époque moderne* (Rev. Hist., Jan.).

The five hundredth anniversary of the nationalistic uprising in Sweden in the 1430's has called forth a series of important studies on Swedish history in the fifteenth century, one of the more recent of which is an academic dissertation by Erik Lönnroth entitled *Sverige och Kalmarunionen, 1397–1457* (Gothenburg, 1934).

The remarkable patristic learning of the great sixteenth century Humanist and Reformer Melanchthon is revealed in a Greek edition of the Apostolic Canons, printed at Wittenberg in 1521 and containing marginal and interlinear Latin notes taken by Gassar, one of his students, from the master's university lectures. This booklet, discovered at the Vatican Library by W. Beneszewicz is published by him with other material in *Melanchthonia: Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des byzantinischen Rechts in Westeuropa, 1521–1560* (Munich, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; philos.-histor. Abteilung, 1934, pp. 127).

An indispensable source for the history of the Swiss Reformation is the splendid edition of *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads*, by E. Staehelin, containing a total of 1029 documents relating to the Basel Reformer. Vol. II, covering the years 1527–1593, concludes the work with 577 documents, about a hundred previously unpublished (Leipzig, Heinsius Nachfolger, 1934, pp. xiv, 897; Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, vol. XIX).

In 1898 the Spanish Jesuits began a vast collection of documents relating to the first half-century of the society, under the general title *Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu*. Sixty-two volumes have already appeared. To the section entitled *Monumenta Ignatiana*, concerned with Loyola's own writings, is now added a volume of *Monumenta constitutionum Praevia*, being the fundamental rules for admission to and membership in the order (Rome, 1934, pp. cclxxii, 459). Though most of the documents have been previously published, this is without doubt the most complete critical edition in existence.

One of the leaders of the German Counter Reformation, an able bishop, an intelligent civil administrator, an educational reformer to whom the reopening of the local university was due, linguist, bibliophile, and collector of antiquities, is the subject of an extensive biography by G. von Pölnitz, under the title *Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, Fürstbischof von Würzburg und Herzog von Franken, 1573–1617* (Munich, Kommission für Bayerischen Landesgeschichte, 1934, pp. xv, 667.

A recently published volume of *Diplomatarium Islandicum* (XIII, pt. 2, Reykjavik, 1934) brings that important series down to 1557.

The Polish Academy of Science in Cracow has after an interval of eighteen years brought out a new (the fourth) volume of its great series *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*. The volume bears the title *Alberti Bolognetti nuntii Apostolici in Polonia epistolarum et actorum a Ludovico Boratynski p. m. collecta, 1581–1582* (1933, pp. lxxi, 748), and is issued under the editorial supervision of Edward Kuntze and Czeslaw Nanke.

The Great Tudors (Ivor Nicholson and Watson), edited by Katharine Garvin, contains, among others, essays contributed by A. F. Pollard, C. H. Williams, E. P. Cheyney, Conyers Read, G. B. Harrison, A. W. Pollard, J. Dover Wilson, and Nigel Playfair.

Articles: Gottfrid Carlsson, *Det Engelbrektska upprorets begynnelseskede* [the Engelbrekt rising in its earliest phase] (Hist. Tidskr., 1934, no. 3); Hans v. Greyerz, *Ablasspredigten des Johannes Heynlin aus Stein, 28. September bis 8. Oktober, 1476, in Bern* (Arch. Hist. Vereins Kantons Bern, 1934, no. 2); Karl Geiser, *Bern unter dem Regiment des Patriziates: I, Die Burgerschaft der Stadt Bern und das Patriziat* (*ibid.*); Egmont Zechlin, *Das Problem der vorkolumbischen Entdeckung Amerikas und die Kolumbusforschung* (Hist. Zeitsch., May); Florence E. Dyer, *Reprisals in the Sixteenth Century* (Mariner's Mirror, Apr.); Roger Chauviré, *État présent de la controverse sur les Lettres de la Casette* (Rev. Hist., Nov., Jan.); F. J. Fisher, *The Development of the London Food Market, 1540–1640* (Ec. Hist. Rev., Apr.); T. C. Lin, *Manchuria in the Ming Empire* (Nankai Soc. and Ec. Quar., Apr.); Ch'ên Shou Yi, *Sino-European Cultural Contacts since the Discovery of the Sea Route* (*ibid.*).

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

England during the Interregnum, 1642–1660 (Longmans, Green, 1935, pp. xx, 282, $3.60), edited by Margaret James and Maureen Weinstock, is no. IX of the series of University of London Intermediate Source Books of History. The introduction includes a "Note on Sources" and a "Select List of Modern Works". There is an index.

Under the auspices of the Catholic Record Society, Dom Hugh Bowler

has edited the *London Sessions Records, 1605–1685*, in order to select the indictments for recusancy, an important service to the religious history of a long and critical period.

Sir Charles Petrie's *Letters, Speeches, and Proclamations of Charles I* (Cassell) is a selection from documents in the categories indicated, arranged chiefly according to a topical order to illustrate the life of the king. Mr. Arthur Bryant's *Letters, Speeches, and Declarations of Charles II* is a similar work for the later reign published by the same house.

The attempts to plan London, particularly after the Great Fire seemed to offer a unique opportunity for a reasonable reconstruction, are described in *The Growth of Stuart London* (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 25*s*.), by Norman G. Brett-James. It seems that within a week from the day the fire started both Christopher Wren and John Evelyn presented plans to King Charles. The material facts were too strong, however, for the planners, and the city rose again practically on the old lines, and grew with amazing speed in the face of cries of protest and threats of restriction.

Dr. William McMillan's *John Hepburn and the Hebronites* (James Clark and Company) is the biography of a leader of a sect of Cameronians who flourished in the late years of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century. The sect was active at the time of the union of Scotland and England.

Vol. XVI of the publications of the Oxfordshire Record Society is Mrs. Mary Sturge Gretton's *Oxfordshire Justices of the Peace in the Seventeenth Century*. Appended is a calendar of the Quarter Session Records for the important years, 1687–1689. The book treats among other things of the transportation overseas of Oxfordshire prisoners.

Erik Amburger in his *Russland und Schweden, 1762–1772* (Berlin, 1934), traces the development of Russian policy with respect to Sweden in the decade from the death of the Empress Elizabeth to the *coup d'état* of Gustavus III. The author takes particular note of the efforts of Catherine II to build up a "Northern system".

Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-institut [institute for the publication of Norweigian sources] has undertaken to publish a series of *Rapports de la légation de France à Copenhague (correspondance consulaire) relatifs à la Norvège, 1670–1791*. Vol. I, edited by Oscar Albert Johnsen, covers the period 1670–1748 (Oslo, 1934).

Janet Schaw's journal, long dormant in the British Museum, made known to the reading public by Evangeline Walker Andrews and Professor Charles M. Andrews in 1921 under the title of *Journal of a Lady of Quality: being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776* (Yale University Press, 1934, pp. 349,

$4.00), has justly won recognition as a classic of Anglo-American travel in the eighteenth century. Its popularity was such as to justify reprinting in 1922, 1923, 1927, and now a new edition is produced. The magisterial introduction and the excellent footnotes remain unchanged but to the eight illustrations four additions are made—two of Greencastle Plantation, the estate of Samuel Martin in Antigua, one of Greenock, the seaport of Glasgow, and a portrait of William Gordon Rutherfurd, son of John Rutherfurd, sometime receiver of quitrents in North Carolina. The appendixes contain two unpublished letters of John Rutherfurd and sixteen supplemental notes referring to the text of the Journal. Thus the volume, already unsurpassed as a type of well-edited source material, has in this edition new merits. W. K. B.

Some time ago Raffaele Ciampini discovered in the National Library at Florence the manuscripts of biweekly or triweekly reports upon the events of the Revolution from 1788 to 1791, sent to Stanislas Augustus, king of Poland, by Philip Mazzei as his agent in Paris. Signor Ciampini has published a short selection of these (Florence, Rinascimento del Libro, 1934, pp. 51, 4 l.), but proposes to publish the whole collection later. They make important additions to testimony offered by other foreign observers, although Mazzei's attitude was influenced by his admiration for Lafayette.

A new volume of Dom H. Leclercq's extensive *Histoire du déclin et de la chute de la monarchie française* contains the story of *L'Église constitutionnelle, juillet 1790–avril 1791* (Letouzey et Ané, 1934, pp. xi, 619). The work is based almost entirely on source material without reference to the recent bibliography of the period.

At a meeting held on March 27 the Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française, which was founded in 1888, voted to discontinue its organization. Its review, *La Révolution française,* will be directed by the Centre d'études de la Révolution française established not long ago at the University of Paris. The reasons for this action were mainly financial. The tragic death of the president, Louis Barthou, deprived the society of its most influential leader.

Articles: A. P. Newton, *The West Indies in International Politics, 1550–1850* [concl'd] (History, Mar.); J. G. Van Dillen, *Isaac Le Maire et le commerce des actions de la Compagnie des Indes orientales* [I] (Rev. Hist. Mod., Jan.); G. E. Fussell, *Farming Methods in the Early Stuart Period* [II] (Jour. Mod. Hist., June); Harold Hulme, *Opinion in the House of Commons on the Proposal for a Petition of Right* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); Violet A. Rowe, *The Influence of the Earls of Pembroke on Parliamentary Elections, 1625–1641* (*ibid.*); H. N. Fieldhouse, *St. John and Savoy in the War of the Spanish Succession* (*ibid.*); R. A. Humphreys, *Lord Shelburne and British Colonial Policy, 1766–1768* (*ibid.*); Henri Hauser, *Crises de crédit et de spéculation en France et Angleterre au lendemain de la paix d'Utrecht* (Rev.

Hist. Mod., Nov.); Gustav Berthold Volz, *Die Politik Friedrichs des Grossen vor und nach seiner Thronbesteigung* (Hist. Zeitsch., Mar.); Marquis d'Albon, *Voyage et séjour d'une grande dame dans le Midi de la France au XVIII^e siècle* (Rev. Ques. Hist., Jan.); Martial Griveaud, *Un physicien oublié au XVIII^e siècle: L'abbé Pierre Sigorgne de Rembercourt-aux-Pots, 1719–1809* (An. Est, 1935, no. 1); Émile Apollis, *Jean Joachim Gausserand, évêque constitutionnel du Tarn, 1749–1820* (Rev. Ques. Hist., Mar.); Jean Collot, *L'affaire Réveillon* [concl'd] (*ibid.*); Agnès King, *Jersey, centre d'espionage au début de la période révolutionnaire* (Rev. Hist. Mod., Nov.); Michele Pinna, *Chi salvò la Sardegna nel 1793?* (Rassegna Stor. Risorg., Mar.); P. Richard, *Le martyre de la papauté, 1769–1799* [III] (Rev. Hist. Ecclés., Apr.); Michel Eude, *La commune robespierriste: L'arrestation de Pache et la nomination de Payan* (An. Hist. Rév. Fr., Mar.); W. B. Kerr, *Robespierre et le jeune Millingen* (*ibid.*, Jan.); Colonel Herlaut, *Les nominations du Général Beauharnais et du commissaire Alexandre au ministère de la guerre* (*ibid.*); Madeleine Schnerb, *L'enseignement primaire dans le Puy-de-Dôme pendant la Révolution* (*ibid.*, Mar.).

Documents: T. W. Moody, ed., *The Revised Articles of the Ulster Plantation, 1610* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Feb.).

HISTORY SINCE 1800

General review: Eugene N. Anderson, *Recent Works on German Unification* (Jour. Mod. Hist., June); Georges Bourgin, *Sur la Commune de 1871* (Rev. Hist., Nov.); H. L. Beales, *The "Basic" Industries in England, 1850–1914* (Ec. Hist. Rev., Apr.); H. J. Smit, *Histoire des Pays-Bas, 1929–1932* (Rev. Hist., Jan.).

The Royal Historical Society has published in its Camden series a volume entitled *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1789–1852* (London, 1934, pp. xvii, 216), which continues the list for 1689–1789, printed in 1932. The editors are S. T. Bindoff and Miss E. F. Malcom Smith, while Professor Charles K. Webster has acted as consultant and adviser. The organization of the material is somewhat different from that of the preceding volume, due to the changed conditions of the period dealt with. Diplomatic representatives of every type, if accredited as such, are included. Unaccredited agents, consuls-general and consuls, are omitted. All changes in the status of any particular representative are given. One interesting item is the practice of double credentials, discontinued at the opening of the nineteenth century and revived under William IV, with the consequence that one set was for the king and another for the queen of a foreign country. In the case of the sultan of Turkey the second set was for the grand vizier. Among the sovereignties which passed into limbo during the period are the Seven (Ionian)

Islands and Texas. It should be added that the details which appear under each name are drawn from the official records [some 5000 documents] of the foreign office, in a few cases the colonial office, which are preserved in the Public Record Office.

The small volume, *Československá Vlastivěda* [Czechoslovakia in All Its Aspects]: *Dějiny* [History], Doplněk I, edited by Václav Novotný (Prague, "Sfinx" Bohumil Janda, 1933, pp. 639–811, Kc.300), is only an addition to the original volume on Czechoslovak history in the excellent series "Czechoslovakia in All Its Aspects" covering the years between 1780 and 1918. The volume is written by specialists in their own fields and abounds in historical photographs, reproductions of documents, and bibliographies at the end of the chapters. There is an excellent index. Although very little attention has been paid to economic and social history, this book is the best history of Czechoslovakia that has appeared so far in this language. J. S. R.

In his two volumes, *John Bright and the Quakers* (Methuen), J. Travis Mills, who was present at some of the last meetings Bright attended, offers a sympathetic estimate of the part played by his Quaker affiliation in shaping Bright's career and in determining his attitude on public questions.

Dr. Gustav Mayer is preparing a one volume edition of his *Friedrich Engels: Eine Biographie,* reviewed in the April number (pp. 505 ff.). It will be somewhat condensed and will be published in translation in 1936 by Alfred A. Knopf.

An article of unusual interest for its analysis of the aftereffects of war upon rural life in northern France is found in *Annales de l'Est* (1935, no. 1) under the title of "Les transformations du village rural dans la zone devastée de la Meuse: Guerre 1914–1918". It is furnished with plans of fields, villages, and houses. In general, the author, Simone Brion, finds that reconstruction has been ultilized to secure a more complete adaptation to actual economic conditions. "La guerre a permis à l'évolution commencée déjà longtemps avant elle de s'accomplir plus librement."

In *Frederick Edwin, Earl of Birkenhead: the Last Phase* (Thornton Butterworth) the present earl brings to a close the family life of his father. It deals with the period of the War, when Birkenhead was still F. E. Smith, of his early career as minister of the crown, of his later more distinguished work as lord chancellor, and of his part in negotiating the Irish treaty.

Frank Cundall, librarian of the Institute of Jamaica, is the author of *A History of Printing in Jamaica from 1717 to 1834* (Kingston, the Institute, 1935, pp. 64, 19 illustrations, 1*s.*), a work of great value to the student of social life in the British West Indies. Aside from its main subject it includes biographical sketches of sixty island printers and check lists of all books,

pamphlets, broadsheets, magazines, collections of laws, almanacs, and newspapers known to have been published locally, with indication of location of known copies in each case. L. J. R.

The story of China, and especially of the last hundred years, has often been narrated. It is, therefore, too much to expect in any fresh telling of it, particularly in brief and popular form, much that is new, either in fact or in interpretation. Each competent retelling, however, has its value, even if it be only the enlisting of a new body of readers. Mr. Grover Clark in *The Great Wall Crumbles* (Macmillan, 1935, pp. xvii, 406, $3.50) disclaims writing for the specialist or the scholar, but has in mind those who wish an introduction to current China and to the changes which have been wrought by the coming of the Occident. To make these events clear and to throw them into perspective, Mr. Clark has properly felt himself driven to narrate something of China's pre-nineteenth century past. He has spent much of his life in the Far East and writes from intimate knowledge of the people whom he describes. He has, moreover, read fairly widely—although not always with discrimination—in the pertinent literature in English. His literary style is easy and attractive. He has nothing very new to say, and the expert will here and there detect what he believes to be errors in fact. In the main, however, the book admirably accomplishes its announced purpose. K. S. L.

In a new edition of his *Manchuria, Cradle of Conflict* (Macmillan, 1935, pp. xviii, 343, $3.00), originally published in 1932, immediately after the crisis which led to the establishment of Manchukuo, Owen Lattimore has added two chapters on "Manchukuo: the State and the Theory" and "Pacific Ocean and Great Wall", in order to bring the treatment down to date. He has also rewritten the first chapter which explains the geographical setting.

Articles: R. St. J. Gillespie, *Sir Nathaniel Dance's Battle off Pulo Auro* (Mariner's Mirror, Apr.); Harold E. Blinn, *New Light on Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna* (Pacific Hist. Rev., June); Albert Leitzmann, *Politische Jugendbriefe Wilhelm von Humboldts an Gentz* (Hist. Zeitsch., May); Spryridion Pappas, *Un Napoléonide mort pour la Grèce: Paul Marie Bonaparte* [concl'd] (Rev. Hist. Dipl., Jan.); Francis Waddington, *La politique de Lord Palmerston et le traité du 15 juillet 1840* (*ibid.*); Frans Van Kalken, *L'armée de l'intérieur* [Belgium, 1830 and after] (Rev. Hist. Mod., Nov.); H. G. Funkhouser and Helen M. Walker, *Playfair and his Charts* (Ec. Hist., Feb.); Gertrude Ward, *The Education of Factory Child Workers, 1833–1850* (*ibid.*); T. H. Marshall, *The Population of England and Wales from the Industrial Revolution to the World War* (Ec. Hist. Rev., Apr.); H. A. Shannon, *Migration and the Growth of London, 1841–1891* (*ibid.*); W. H. Marwick, *Early Trade Unionism in Scotland* (*ibid.*); George Matthew Dutcher, *Napoleon II* (South Atlantic Quar., Apr.); Howard McGaw Smyth,

The Armistice of Novara: a Legend of a Liberal King (Jour. Mod. Hist., June); R. Avezou, *L'initiation de la Savoie au régime parlementaire, 1848–1860* (Rev. Hist. Mod., Jan.); Bernard Perrin, *Le recrutement sacerdotal et les écoles secondaires ecclésiastiques du diocèse de Versailles pendant la période concordataire, 1802–1906* (Rev. Études Hist., Jan.); Fritz Hartung, *Staatsgefüge und Zusammenbruch des zweiten Reiches* [apropos of a recent essay by Carl Schmitt under the same title] (Hist. Zeitsch., Mar.); Hans Haimar Jacobs, *Bernhard Erdmannsdörffers Weg zu Bismarck: Nach unveröffentlichten Briefen Erdmannsdörffers an Max Jordan* (Preuss. Jahrb., Apr.); Hellmut Kretzschmar, *Heinrich von Treitschkes Verhältnis zu Sachsen* (*ibid.*, Mar.); Friedrich Rosen, *Die deutsch-englischen Bündnisverhandlungen des Jahres 1898* [apropos of J. L. Garvin's *Chamberlain*, vol. III] (Berl. Monatsh., Mar.); S. K. Padover, *Treitschke, Forerunner of Hitlerism* (Pacific Hist. Rev., June); É. F. Gautier, *L'or du Soudan dans l'histoire* (An. Hist. Éc. et Soc., Mar.); Hans Rothfels, *Zur Lebensgeschichte Holsteins* [apropos of Holstein's letters to his cousin] (Hist. Zeitsch., Mar.); Edwin J. Pratt, *L'année 1903 dans la diplomatie française* (Rev. Hist., Jan.); Arno Spindler, *The "Lusitania" Case: its Influence on German-American Relations* (Berl. Monatsh., May); Georg Haschek, *Partis, traditions, et structure sociale en Autriche* (An. Hist. Éc. et Soc., Jan.); H. D. Fong, *Rural Weaving and the Merchant Employers in a North China District* (Nankai Soc. and Ec. Quar., Apr.); Gaetano Salvemini, *Twelve Years of Fascist Finance* (Foreign Affairs, Apr.); James K. Pollock, *The Saar Plebiscite* (Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., Apr.).

Documents: Albert Leitzmann, ed., *Jugendbriefe Wilhelm von Humboldts: Zum hundertjährigen Gedächtnis seines Todestages, 8 April 1835* (Preuss. Jahrb., Apr.); *Correspondance inédite entre Lamennais et le comte de Senfft* [I] (Rev. Ques. Hist., Jan.); Howard McGaw Smyth, ed., *Documents relating to the Armistice of Novara* (Jour. Mod. Hist., June); Luigi Federzoni, ed., *Lettere di Francesco Crispi ad Abele Damiani* (N. Antol., Feb. 1); Arrigo Solmi, ed., *Carteggio tra Antonio Salandra e Sidney Sonnino nella prima fase della neutralità Italiana, agosto-dicembre 1914* (*ibid.*, Feb. 16).

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

General review: the *Revue historique* has now published separately the two general reviews of American history by É. Préclin, originally printed in the September and November numbers. The title is *Histoire des États-Unis, des origines à nos jours* (Alcan, 1935, pp. 91).

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of

Congress the following may be noted: papers of F. A. C. Muhlenberg, Conrad Weiser, and H. M. Muhlenberg added to the Gregg Collection; reproductions of 19 letters mainly addressed to Jeremiah Wadsworth, 1777–1818; photostats of two account-books of Thomas Jefferson, 1782–1826; copies of 33 letters of George Thacher, M.C., 1790–1792; about twenty letters addressed to Anthony Wayne, 1792–1796; about 779 papers, mainly letters, addressed to Joseph Story, 1807–1844; journal of Major Lewis Bond, of the battle of the River Raisin, etc., 1813; 14 letters of Salmon P. Chase, 1823–1832; 27 letters addressed to John H. B. Latrobe, from Mathew Carey, Amos Kendall, Samuel F. B. Morse, and Richard Rush, 1828–1850; a volume containing articles of faith and constitution of the New Philadelphia Society, 1833; 29 letters from the Confederate general, William J. Hardee, to Mrs. Felicia L. Shover, relating to movements of Confederate forces, 1861–1862; narrative of the "Secession Conspiracy" in Kentucky, by Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge; papers of Elisha H. Allen, chief justice and envoy of the Hawaiian kingdom (several hundreds); diary of John H. Wheeler of N. C., 21 volumes; 103 letter-files and 29 packages of papers of Tasker H. Bliss; papers of Senator Thomas J. Walsh, 64 filecases; papers of William McKinley, about 30 boxes.

The Library of Congress has sent to the Government Printing Office the manuscript for the concluding volume, XXXIV, edited by Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, of the *Journals of the Continental Congress,* embracing the transactions of 1788 and the first weeks of 1789. Volumes XXXII and XXXIII, for 1787, are all in final proof, waiting only for the completion of the index. It is expected that Volume IV of the *Records of the Virginia Company,* edited by Miss Susan M. Kingsbury, completing that work, will be published by the Government Printing Office in July.

A comprehensive survey and appraisal of the public records of the government has been inaugurated, in order to determine the location, present volume, and physical condition of the papers, records, and documents which should be transferred to the new National Archives building. This survey will also ascertain the amount of cleaning and repairing which will be required, as well as the number and kinds of indexes and inventories now available to facilitate the use of such collections by public officials and by scholars. The history and duration of all government agencies will be charted and their archival series noted to serve as a basis for the formulation of a logical classification and cataloguing system.

Dr. Charles A. Beard in revising his *American Government and Politics* (Macmillan, 1935, pp. viii, 859, $3.75) for a seventh edition has sought to

bring the text "into line with current events", to emphasize the broader policies of government in the present crisis, and, incidentally, to adapt the book to more effective use in the classroom.

Professor Louis Martin Sears's *History of American Foreign Relations* (Crowell, 1935, pp. xiv, 706, $3.50) is a revised and enlarged edition of the stimulating and well-known volume published by the author in 1927. In its survey of recent relations and policy, chiefly questions of fiscal policy and Caribbean interests, it includes all the most prominent topics except the latest adjustments with Mexico and Canada. The author adds to the interest of the narrative by brief incidental expressions of his own opinion based upon study of the data. He states that President Hoover, by his declaration of a moratorium on debts due from Germany in 1931, began a quasi-inflationary policy later elaborated by his successor. He says that the fate of the entire London monetary conference of 1933 was determined by President Roosevelt's change of opinion. Although he apparently approves the Roosevelt conciliatory "partnership" policy in Latin America, he asserts that either with or without the Platt amendment America cannot long be indifferent to anarchy in the Caribbean. In the concluding chapter he makes a brief venture in prophecy. J. M. C.

Professor Harold Underwood Faulkner's *American Economic History* (Harper, 1935, pp. xvi, 816, $3.50), first published in 1924, has reached a third edition. The principal changes are the introduction of twenty-six new maps, the addition of a chapter describing the crash of 1929 and the "New Deal", and the revision of the bibliographies.

The volume entitled *Papers on Public Credit, Commerce, and Finance* (Columbia University Press, 1934, pp. xxiv, 303, $3.00), edited by Samuel McKee, jr., contains five papers written by Alexander Hamilton while he was Secretary of the Treasury. Two are the famous reports on the "Public Credit" and two the equally well-known reports on a "National Bank" and on "Manufactures". The remaining paper is the "Letter to George Washington on the Constitutionality of the Bank, with an Analysis of the Powers and Function of the Federal Government". They all have been ably edited by Mr. McKee. Mr. Elihu Root has written a foreword. While Hamilton's papers deal with problems of our formative period, they contain the exposition of fundamental principles which are still pertinent. A. A. R.

Professor Earl Willis Crecraft's *Freedom of the Seas* (Appleton-Century, 1935, pp. xx, 304, $3.00) is a tract written to defend the institution of neutrality against the theories of the "new dispensation". To one who, like the reviewer, believes in formulating treaty definitions of neutral rights, much of the general argument of the present tract will be welcome and timely. Others will be extremely impatient with it. Even defenders of

neutrality will be annoyed because its polemical pages make so many loose assertions, arguments, and even mistakes in fact. It would be impossible to touch on all of these in this space, but witness for example (p. 106): "In 1909, the new Declaration of London abolished completely the doctrine of continuous voyage, as applied to the enforcement of a blockade." It is true that the Declaration of London did in its text declare that a "blockade must not extend beyond the ports and coasts of the enemy"; but the Declaration of London, as the author says on so many other pages, was never ratified. Like many Americans, the author impatiently asks: "Why should we always anticipate war rather than peace" in defining neutral rights? Well, we will answer him: Some desperate nations find war rather than peace more suitable to their interests. S. F. B.

Credit should be given to Mr. Giovanni Schiavo, the author of *The Italians in America before the Civil War* [The Italian Historical Society] (Vigo Press, 1934, pp. i, 399, $5.00), for great industry, as his data have been culled from a vast amount of material in various languages. It is amusing, however, to find a criticism directed against another writer for failure to document his assertions (p. 327), when that is the most serious indictment—though not the only one—the reviewer must bring against this author. Sweeping assertions are made and conclusions drawn on highly controversial matters without footnote citation of authorities. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Mr. Schiavo, while assailing others for racial bias, suffers from the same weakness. Possibly the Italian influence in America deserves more recognition, but the writer's zeal leads him to greater claims than are proved. For instance, it is unscholarly to sweep away the Ericson voyages to Vinland as "mythology". It argues ignorance of the archaeological evidence excavated by Dr. Poul Nörland and preserved in the Copenhagen National Museum. The bibliography violates also all conventions of trained historians. There is carelessness as to dates; and the style is open to criticism, particularly for an effort to include extraneous material which should have been relegated to footnotes. E. L.

Articles: A. M. Schlesinger, *Colonial Newspapers and the Stamp Act* (New England Quar., Mar.); Francis Lee Thurman, *Little Known and Unfrequented Haunts of Washington* (Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog., Apr.); George L. McKay, *American Book Auction Catalogues, 1713–1934* [I, II] (Bull. New York Public Library, Mar., May); Victor H. Paltsits, *The Use of Invisible Ink for Secret Writing during the American Revolution* (*ibid.*, May); Maurice Casenave, *La France et l'établissement de la hiérarchie catholique aux États-Unis* [concl'd] (Rev. Hist. Dipl., Jan.); William Sener Rusk, *William Thornton, Architect* (Pennsylvania Hist., Apr.); W. E. Apgar, *Our Navy, 1800–1813, from the Letters of Capt. William*

H. Allen (Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc., Apr.); Richard R. Sternberg, *The Failure of Polk's Mexican War Intrigue of 1845* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Mar.); John D. P. Fuller, *Propaganda during the Mexican War* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Apr.); William K. Boyd, *Robert E. Lee* (South Atlantic Quar., Apr.); William A. Russ, jr., *Anti-Catholic Agitation during Reconstruction* (Rec. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc., Dec.); Charles Fairman, *Justice Samuel F. Miller* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Mar.); Richard W. Van Alstyne, *Great Britain, the United States, and Hawaiian Independence* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Mar.); David Y. Thomas, *The Monroe Doctrine from Roosevelt to Roosevelt* (South Atlantic Quar., Apr.); J. Bartlet Brebner, *Canada, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and the Washington Conference* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Mar.).

Documents: Carl Bridenbaugh, ed., *Patrick McRobert's Tour through Part of the North Provinces of America, 1774–1775* (Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog., Apr.); Esther Louise Larsen, ed., *Pehr Kalm's Description of Maize, How it is Planted and Cultivated in North America, together with the Many Uses of this Crop Plant* (Agricultural Hist., Apr.); Mary S. Estill, ed., *Diary of a Confederate Congressman, 1862–1863* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Apr.).

NEW ENGLAND, MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Massachusetts Historical Society has published vol. XV (pp. xiii, 323) of its reprint of the *Journals of the House of Representatives*, covering the sessions of the legislative year 1737–1738 (May–April), and presenting the usual extraordinary amount of detailed information for the history of the province. Aside from the customary agitations over paper money and Governor Belcher's pay, the main matter of the year was the boundary dispute with New Hampshire. In order to consider this from near at hand, the legislature held its second session at Salisbury, where it was occupied with the question for three months—only to see it decided mainly in favor of New Hampshire by the commission of twenty councilors from other colonies, and ultimately by the privy council at Whitehall.

Vol. I [New Series], no. 8, of the Worcester Historical Society *Publications* contains several papers read before the society, among which are: "The Daguerreotype Art and some of its Early Exponents in Worcester", by Edward F. Coffin, and "The Blackstone Canal", by Zelotes W. Coombs.

The following accessions are among those recently acquired by the Manuscripts and History Section of the New York State Library: Thomson family papers of Catskill, New York, 1783–1846, including letters of Mark Spencer, Jesse Buel, E. Croswell, and the journal of a voyage to British Guiana, in all, about 1500 items; 275 Civil War letters of Lieutenant Orsell Cook Brown, New York Volunteers, 1861–1865; Philip Schuyler documents (5); letters, 1827–1828, of De Witt Clinton (23); papers of Thomas Cole,

the artist, about 400 items, including letters of A. B. Durand (5), Luman Reed, Samuel Ward, William Cullen Bryant (6), Henry Pickering (6), Jonathan Sturgis (7), Samuel F. B. Morse (6), John Howard Payne, Inman, Ingham, and Cornelius Ver Bryck; papers of Jessie Bookstaver (500). J. I. W.

Among the recent manuscript additions to the collections of the New York Public Library are two logs, the first kept by the surgeon of the U. S. S. *Independence* on a voyage from Boston to the Mediterranean and return to New York, May 21, 1815, to January 31, 1816, and the second kept by Midshipman Joseph Parrish of the U. S. S. *Congress* on a voyage to California, October 8, 1846, to November 11, 1847. Another manuscript is the journal of a "Short Tour through the United States and Canadas", written by a subaltern in the rifle brigade at Halifax. It is not surprising that this traveler had little love for the "beastly Yankees".

The Centennial History of Saint Bartholomew's Church in the City of New York, 1835–1935 (Privately printed for the Rector, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen, 1935, pp. xix, 435, $3.00), by E. Clowes Chorley, illustrates an important phase in the life of the American city, suggested in part by the pictures and locations of the first church at Lafayette Place and Great Jones Street and the present church at Park Avenue and 51st Street. The foreword is contributed by Dr. Leighton Parks, rector from 1904 to 1925.

The third annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Historical Association was held at Pittsburgh on April 19 and 20, in connection with the Annual History Conference of the University of Pittsburgh. The registered attendance was 161, it being the largest number yet gathered together at the annual meetings. A program of unusual excellence was presented, combining papers by mature scholars and young research students. Outstanding in the program were the brilliant and challenging address by Arthur P. Whitaker entitled "Capitalism, Agrarianism, and Territorial Expansion, 1800 to 1850", the novel address by Vilhjalmur Stefansson on "The Real Discoverer of America", and the new light thrown on "The Personality of Provost William Smith", by Mrs. Charles Shattock Fox. Religion, constitutional struggles, county politics, the Anti-Masonic movement, British colonial policy, the opening of the Mississippi, and archival materials were discussed by Marian Silveus, Burke M. Hermann, Philip S. Klein, J. Cutler Andrews, Dora Mae Clark, Helen Kiester, and Curtis W. Garrison. The secretary reported that the association had enjoyed a most successful year, having increased its membership by 33 per cent. It was decided to have the annual meetings henceforth in the autumn and to inaugurate this plan a second meeting is to be held this year in Philadelphia in September or October. P. W. G.

Acquisitions of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania in recent months include a collection of correspondence and papers, ranging in date

from 1790 to 1859, of Colonel Dunning McNair, founder of Wilkinsburg, and of his son, Colonel Dunning R. McNair, state operator and mail contractor; a group of original papers of Colonel James Burd, Pennsylvania soldier and road builder, including a sketch map of the "Camp at Loyal Hannon—1758" (later Fort Ligonier); a considerable collection of papers and mementos relating to General Alexander Hays and to survivors of his first Civil War command, the 63d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers; photostatic copies of a supposedly unique file, in private possession, of the Pittsburgh *Gazette*, 1822–1825; and files or scattering issues of the *Farmers Register* (Greensburg), 1803–1805, the *American Citizen* (Butler), 1863–1867, and the Butler *Eagle*, 1870–1906. Last fall the society put on a series of carefully planned exhibits at various conspicuous locations in downtown Pittsburgh and at the county fair. During the year 1934 the society made a net gain in membership of 141. F. F. H.

Articles: William Stetson Merrill, *The Vinland Problem through the Four Centuries* (Cath. Hist. Rev., Apr.); Edward N. Torbert, *The Evolution of Land Utilization in Lebanon, New Hampshire* (Geog. Rev., Apr.); Arthur Lyon Cross, *Harvard Worthies of a Bygone Generation* (Michigan Alumnus, Apr.); Henry Steele Commager, *The Blasphemy of Abner Kneeland* (New England Quar., Mar.); Dudley W. Knox, *Private Armed Ships belonging to Salem, 1799* (Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., Apr.); *Ship Registers of the District of Newburyport, 1789–1870* [cont'd] (*ibid.*); Harold F. Wilson, *The Rise and Decline of the Sheep Industry in Northern New England* (Agricultural Hist., Jan.); Roy F. Nichols, *Has the History of the Middle States been Neglected?* (Pennsylvania Hist., Apr.); Pierre Brodin, *Les Quakers dans le New York au XVII^e siècle* (Rev. Hist. Mod., Nov.); Alexander C. Flick, *The Bebout Family in Flanders and America* (New York Geneal. and Biog. Rec., Apr.); G. S. Pryde, *Scottish Colonization in the Province of New York* (New York Hist., Apr.); Robert G. Albion, *Commercial Fortunes in New York: a Study in the History of the Port of New York about 1850* (*ibid.*); Louis L. Gitin, *Cadwallader Colden as Scientist and Philosopher* (*ibid.*); Wheaton J. Lane, *Water Transportation in Colonial New Jersey* (Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc., Apr.); Lily Lee Nixon, *Colonel James Burd in the Forbes Campaign* (Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog., Apr.); Harry S. Hower, *Some Scientific and Technological Contributions to the Glass Industry in the Pittsburgh District* (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., Mar.).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

One of the first fruits of the organization of the Southern Historical Association last November has been the establishment of a new regional historical review, *The Journal of Southern History*, the initial issue of which appeared in February. The Board of Editors is made up of Philip M. Hamer,

Dwight L. Dumond, E. Merton Coulter, Fletcher M. Green, Thomas P. Abernethy, William C. Binkley, Richard H. Shryock, and Charles S. Sydnor. Wendell H. Stephenson, of Louisiana State University, is the Managing Editor, and that university is the guarantor of the publication. The opening number has the following articles: "Great Britain, the United States, and the Negro Seamen Acts", by Philip M. Hamer; "The South in the 1850's as seen by British Consuls", by Laura A. White; "The Beginning of Printing in Mississippi", by Charles S. Sydnor; and "The Propaganda Literature of Confederate Prisons", by William B. Hesseltine. The document is "Journal of the First Kentucky Convention, Dec. 27, 1784–Jan. 5, 1785", edited by Thomas P. Abernethy. There is a section of "Book Reviews" and one "News and Notices". The new journal has made an auspicious beginning.

The Maryland Historical Society has published vol. LI, *Archives of Maryland, Proceedings of the Court of Chancery of Maryland, 1669–1679*, Court Series 5 (Baltimore, 1934, pp. lxi, 595), edited by J. Hall Pleasants. The society has hitherto published four volumes of Proceedings of the Provincial Court, together covering the period from 1637 to 1666 (*Archives*, vols. IV, XLI, and XLIX). Another volume in the documentation of the Maryland colonial courts, though not published by the society, is the *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695–1729*, edited by Carroll T. Bond, and published as "American Legal Records", vol. I, by the American Historical Association (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 137). With the publication of a further volume of the records of the equity court which the society has in preparation there will be available in printed form, as the committee on publication remark, "a complete cross section of the entire judicial system of the Province of Maryland—and one which is perhaps more complete for the period than that possessed by any other colony". It is perhaps needful to note that prior to 1695 the governor and council sitting as the upper house functioned as the appellate court, and that the same personnel (with occasional exceptions) constituted also both the provincial court and the court of chancery. Not until 1669 in fact were the records of the two latter courts kept separately. The occasional exceptions referred to were when the governor was not also the chancellor, as was the case during the period covered by this volume. Besides the clarifying "Letter of Transmittal" by the committee on publication, there is a history of "The First Century of the Court of Chancery of Maryland", by the editor. Judge Carroll T. Bond, of the Maryland Court of Appeals, contributes an "Introduction to the Legal Procedure". Both these contributions are exceedingly helpful to an understanding of the growth of the Maryland system of courts. In an appendix is printed the first charter of St. Mary's City, 1668. It was at St. Mary's City that the Court of Chancery usually sat. E. C. B.

Stratford Hall, the birthplace of Robert E. Lee, is to be dedicated on October 12 as a memorial to him. The funds for the restoration of the house and the gardens have been collected by the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has begun the publication of what is thought to be the most valuable part of Edmund Randolph's History of Virginia, a work which has existed in manuscript for a century and a quarter and has frequently been cited by historians but has never been published. The first volume of manuscript covers the history of Virginia prior to 1774, the second from 1774 to 1782, and it is the latter part that will be published. The first installment, which appears in the April number of the *Magazine*, comprises the introduction only.

The Early Life of George Poindexter: a Story of the First Southwest (Tulane University Press, 1934, pp. 194, $2.00), by Mack Swearingen, deals with the fifteen years after Poindexter arrived in the Mississippi Territory in 1802. During this period he rose from obscurity to political power, served as territorial attorney general, judge, and delegate to Congress as well as to the territorial assembly and the constitutional convention of 1817, which he clearly dominated. More of success and of quarreling was to come later, together with great disappointments, but Professor Swearingen is reserving for future treatment Poindexter's activities after Mississippi became a state. It is obvious that Poindexter's early life could not have been written without producing something of a political history of the Mississippi Territory; in addition considerable information is given about the social and economic background. Distinctive characteristics of the study are raciness of style and boldness of interpretation. A refreshingly unconventional and frank preface (see also p. 176) tends to spike the cannon of those who may disagree with any of the conclusions of the book. The bibliography contains some critical notes, the index is adequate, and there are a dozen illustrations. C. S. S.

Articles: John La Farge, *The Survival of the Catholic Faith in Southern Maryland* (Cath. Hist. Rev., Apr.); William B. Marye, *"Potowmeck above ye Inhabitants": a Commentary on the Subject of an old Map* (Maryland Hist. Mag., Mar.); J. J. Spengler, *Malthusianism and the Debate on Slavery* (South Atlantic Quar., Apr.); Arthur G. Peterson, *Flour and Grist Milling in Virginia: a brief History* (Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog., Apr.); Thomas T. Waterman, *The Bay System in Colonial Virginia Building* (William and Mary College Quar. Hist. Mag., Apr.); Marguerite B. Hamer, *The Foundation and Failure of the Silk Industry in Provincial Georgia* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., Apr.); William A. Mabry, *Negro Suffrage and Fusion Rule in North Carolina (ibid.)*; Marjorie Daniel, *John Joachim Zubly, Georgia Pamphleteer of the Revolution* (Georgia Hist. Quar., Mar.); Joseph

B. Lockey, *A Foot-Note to Captain Young's Itineraries: Letters of Jeremy Robinson [to Edward Livingston, 1832]* (Florida Hist. Soc. Quar., Apr.); Rogers W. Young, *Fort Marion during the Seminole War* (*ibid.*); G. W. McGinty, *Changes in Louisiana Agriculture, 1860–1880* (Louisiana Hist. Quar., Apr.).

Documents: Elizabeth G. McPherson, ed., *Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Washington* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., Apr.); A. S. Salley, ed., *Diary of William Dillwyn during a Visit to Charles Town in 1772* [cont'd] (South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Jan.); Mabel L. Webber, ed., *Records from the Blake and White Bibles* [1621–1794] (*ibid.*); Walter Prichard, ed., *An Original Letter on the West Florida Revolution of 1810* (Louisiana Hist. Quar., Apr.).

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

The Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Cincinnati on April 25–27. The sessions were devoted chiefly to subjects drawn from the history of the Great Valley: "Factors in the Development of the Old Northwest", "Religious Forces in Western History", "Development of Agriculture in the West", "The Mississippi Valley in Diplomacy", and "Public Land Policies"; but such subjects as "Reconstruction" and "Political Leadership since the Civil War" were also discussed. One session was given to a 'Panel discussion' of the *Report of the Commission on the Social Studies*. The presidential address, delivered by Professor L. B. Shippee, abandoned all the old claims for the utilitarian value of history and expressed the modest opinion that if teachers succeeded occasionally in transferring to the student mind a few new truths they would be justifying their existence. An outstanding feature of the meeting was the session on "The Development of American Humor". The speakers emphasized the idea of development and treated their theme historically, while they did not forget to entertain and often to amuse their hearers.

With the beginning of vol. XLIV *The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Quarterly* embodies a new policy and appears in a more attractive format. The trustees of the society which publishes the quarterly, at a meeting last October, decided to reserve for a new series of *Collections* the longer contributions formerly printed in the *Quarterly* and to devote its pages to articles possessing a more general appeal to readers. The Board of Editors was enlarged to make it more representative of the historical activities of the state. Dr. Harlow Lindley is the editor, and his associates are Robert C. Binkley, Beverley W. Bond, jr., Clarence E. Carter, Henry C. Shetrone, Albert T. Volwiler, and Carl Wittke. The articles in this initial number are: "Excavation of the Reeve Village Site, Lake County, Ohio", by Emerson

F. Greenman; "Three Aspects of the Economic Life of Cincinnati from 1815 to 1840", by Maurice F. Neufeld; "The Naming of the City of Cincinnati", by Edgar Erskine Hume; "Robert Hamilton Bishop, Pioneer Educator", by James H. Rodabaugh; and "An Eddy in the Western Flow of American Culture", by Jesse H. Shera. There are also three bibliographical articles.

The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society has published *An Index and List of the Pamphlets and Periodicals collected by Rutherford Birchard Hayes.* The collection is in the Hayes Memorial Library, Spiegel Grove State Park, Fremont, Ohio. The compiler of this list is Ruth M. Boring.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for February contains the "Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Indiana History Conference" held last December.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1934 is made up of the proceedings of the annual meeting for that year and the papers which were presented, among these "Oliver Pollock and the Winning of the Illinois Country", by James Alton James, and "Lincoln and New Salem", by Benjamin P. Thomas.

The University of Missouri Studies, vol. X, no. 2, contains an essay by Ward Allison Dorrance on "The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve".

The thirteenth state historical tour and convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society, held in the upper Minnesota Valley on June 13, 14, and 15, commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Lac qui Parle mission by Dr. Thomas S. Williamson. To the society's Whipple Papers have been added five letters by Bishop Henry B. Whipple. The extensive collection of Major Lawrence Taliaferro's papers has been enriched by filmslides of statements of Taliaferro's accounts from 1822 to 1834 and of thirty letters written by him in 1830 and 1831. The filmslides were made from the originals in the William Clark Papers in the possession of the Kansas Historical Society. Among other recent accessions of the society are ten filing boxes of correspondence of the National Nonpartisan League from 1916 to 1923 and one hundred and thirty-eight architects' drawings received from the Minnesota district of the Historic American Buildings Survey, which include the records of thirty-three buildings of historic interest in various localities in the state. The society has recently published a *Guide to the Personal Papers in the Manuscript Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society,* compiled by Grace Lee Nute and Gertrude W. Ackermann, curator of manuscripts and manuscript assistant, respectively, on the staff of the society. The volume indicates the subjects dealt with, the types of manuscript records, and the persons represented in 455 collections of papers accumulated by Minnesotans, prominent and obscure, and acquired

by the society during the eighty-six years of its existence. The *Guide to the Personal Papers* is intended to be the first of a series that will ultimately include descriptions of all groups of manuscripts in the society's collections. The inventory of Minnesota county archives, resumed in January as a project under the FERA, has been completed in thirteen of the eighty-seven counties of the state and considerable progress has been made in many other counties.

T. C. B.

Death on the Prairie: the Thirty Years' Struggle for the Western Plains (Macmillan, 1934, pp. xii, 298, $3.00), by Paul I. Wellman, is, despite its detective story title, a valuable contribution to American historical literature. It is a history of the Indian wars on the western plains from 1862 to 1891. Although the product of careful and extensive research, it is written in a popular style with the emphasis on the dramatic incidents. In form it is a series of disconnected narratives, which together constitute a chronological history of the conquest of the plains, bringing together material never before treated so fully in one volume.

J. C. G.

The issue of the *Nebraska History Magazine* bearing the date July-September, 1934 (printed April, 1935), is entirely devoted to "Reports on Field Work by the Archaeological Survey of the Nebraska State Historical Society", by Waldo R. Wedel.

Articles: Douglas C. McMurtrie, *A Bibliography of Kentucky Statute Law, 1792–1830* (Filson Club Hist. Quar., Apr.); Richard L. Power, *Wet Lands and the Hoosier Stereotype* (Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev., June); John D. Barnhart, *Sources of Southern Migration into the Old Northwest* (*ibid.*); Kathryn T. Abbey, *Peter Chester's Defense of the Mississippi after the Willing Raid* (*ibid.*); William P. Donnelly, *Nineteenth Century Jesuit Reductions in the United States* (Mid-America, Apr.); Thomas Cleary, *The Organization of the Catholic Church in Central Illinois* (*ibid.*); Gerard Schultz, *Steamboat Navigation on the Osage River before the Civil War* (Missouri Hist. Rev., Apr.); Benjamin F. Shambaugh, *The Naming of Iowa* (Palimpsest, Mar.); Hjalmar R. Holand, *The "Myth" of the Kensington Stone* (New England Quar., Mar.); Philip von Rohr Sauer, *Heinrich von Rohr and the Lutheran Immigration to New York and Wisconsin* (Wisconsin Mag. Hist., Mar.); Albert E. Jenks, *Recent Discoveries in Minnesota Pre-History* (Minnesota Hist., Mar.); Charles M. Gates, *Some Sources for Northwest History: Account Books* (*ibid.*); Kirke Mechem, *The Mystery of the Meeker Press* (Kansas Hist. Quar., Feb.); Carolyn T. Foreman, *Colonel Jesse Henry Leavenworth* (Chron. Oklahoma, Mar.); Rezin H. Constant, *Diary: Colorado as seen by a Visitor of 1880* (Colorado Mag., May); France V. Scholes, *Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century* (New Mexico Hist. Rev., Apr.); Robert G. Raymer, *Early Copper*

Mining in Arizona (Pacific Hist. Rev., June); Peter Masten Dunne, *Jesuits begin the West-Coast Missions* (*ibid.*); Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, *California and the Compromise of 1850* (*ibid.*); W. Clement Eaton, *Nathaniel Wyeth's Oregon Expeditions* (*ibid.*); Ralph R. Martig, *Hudson's Bay Company Claims, 1846–1869* (Oregon Hist. Quar., Mar.); Robert C. Clark, *Military History of Oregon, 1849–1859* (*ibid.*); Richard X. Evans, *Dr. John Evans, U. S. Geologist, 1851–1861* (Washington Hist. Quar., Apr.); Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Washington Newspapers, 1852–1890: a Supplement to Professor Meany's List* (*ibid.*).

Documents: Louise P. Kellogg, ed., *La Chapelle's Remarkable Retreat through the Mississippi Valley, 1760–1761* (Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev., June); Harry E. Pratt, ed., *John Dean Caton's Reminiscences of Chicago in 1833 and 1834* (Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc., Apr.); Earnest E. East, ed., *A Newly Discovered Speech of Lincoln, delivered at Bloomington, September 26, 1854* (*ibid.*); Joseph Schafer, ed., *New Glarus in 1850: Report of Rev. Wilhelm Streissguth* (Wisconsin Mag. Hist., Mar.); Grant Foreman, ed., *The Journal of Elijah Hicks* [1845–1846] (Chron. Oklahoma, Mar.).

CANADA

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association was founded in June, 1933, and its first annual report has now appeared, edited by Dr. J. F. Kenney, the secretary. Among the papers presented at the annual meeting readers south of the border will examine with special interest Father Thomas M. Charland's "La mission de John Carroll au Canada en 1776 et l'interdit du P. Floquet".

Students of Canadian history, as well as librarians, will find most useful the manual entitled *Canadian Government Publications* (Chicago, American Library Association, 1935, pp. ix, 582, $2.25), prepared by Marion Villiers Higgins, instructor in reference and documents, McGill University Library School. It is produced by the planograph process.

Articles: H. M. Thomas, *Agricultural Policy in New France* (Agricultural Hist., Jan.); *id.*, *The Relations of Governor and Intendant in the Old Régime* (Can. Hist. Rev., Mar.); Reginald G. Trotter, *Canada as a Factor in Anglo-American Relations of the 1860's* (*ibid.*); George W. Brown, *Provincial Archives in Canada* (*ibid.*).

Documents: Sidney C. Richardson, *Journal of William Richardson who visited Labrador in 1771* (*ibid.*).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

The lectures delivered at the Third Annual Seminar Conference at the George Washington University, July 2 to August 20, 1934, have been pub-

lished under the title of *Argentina, Brazil, and Chile since Independence* (George Washington University Press, 1935, pp. ix, 481, $3.00). The lecturers were Professors J. Fred Rippy, P. A. Martin, and I. J. Cox. In the introduction are two essays: Colonial Antecedents of the A B C Countries, by the editor of the volume, Professor A. Curtis Wilgus; and The Political Heritage of Spanish America, by Professor N. Andrew N. Cleven. Three lectures printed in the appendix were by Dr. Alfred Hasbrouck, Stetson Conn, and Raul d'Eca.

In the *Manual de historia de España* (Madrid, Aguilar, 1934, pp. 620, 15 ptas.) Rafael Altamira has given us a one-volume history written for the Spaniard of medium education. It is a more popular, concise treatment of the subject than his four-volume *Historia de España y de la civilización española* (1900–1911), yet more complete than his history recently published in the Armand Colin collection. Spanish civilization, especially the history of social and juridical institutions, is given secondary place since he has already amply dealt with it in the last edition of the *Historia de la civilización española* of the Manuales Soler collection (1928). In this manual, special attention is given to reciprocal influences with other nations, to the separate states of Spain in the Middle Ages and their subsequent unification. Starting with prehistoric times, the book takes us through the year 1933. Together with clear maps and pertinent illustrations, some of which are new, there are several tables: one of dates of political and social importance, one of cultural and scientific landmarks, and another indicating a chronological parallel between Spanish history and world events. R. S.

Next autumn the University of North Carolina Press will begin to issue the Inter-American Series composed of translations of histories of Latin American nations written by eminent Latin American scholars. The first volumes to appear will be Professor J. Fred Rippy's translation of Henao and Arrubla's *Historia de Colombia* and Professor W. S. Robertson's translation of Levene's *Historia Argentina.* These histories will be adorned with illustrations, equipped with footnotes, and furnished with bibliographies largely composed of works in English.

Ernesto Schäfer has compiled *Las rúbricas del consejo real y supremo de las Indias desde la fundación del consejo en 1524 hasta la terminación del reinado de los Austrias* (Universidad de Sevilla, Publicaciones del centro de estudios de historia de América, 1934).

The *Report of the Delegates of the United States of America to the Seventh International Conference of American States* has been issued by the Government Printing Office (Washington, 1934).

Felipe Texidor has compiled a useful work entitled *Anuario bibliográfico mexicano de 1933* (Mexico, Secretaría de relaciones exteriores, 1934).

Rafael Helidoro Valle has published a scholarly *Bibliografía de Don José Cecilio del Valle* (Mexico, Ediciones de Número, 1934).

Emilio Portes Gil, attorney general of Mexico, has issued a historico-legal treatise concerning *The Conflict between the Civil Power and the Clergy* (Mexico, Secretaría de relaciones exteriores, 1935).

H. F. Bain and T. F. Read have published *Ores and Industry in South America* under the auspices of the Council for Foreign Relations (Harper, 1934).

Instituciones sociales de la América española en el período colonial is vol. XV in the Biblioteca humanidades of the University of La Plata (1934).

Volume XLIX of the useful series entitled Biblioteca de historia nacional bears the title *Las guerras de Bolívar*. Its author is Francisco Rivas Vicuña (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1934).

Volume XIV of the *Archivo del General Miranda* with the subtitle, *Revolución francesa*, has recently been published (Caracas, Sur-America, 1933).

Articles: Carleton Beals, *Aprismo: the Rise of Haya de la Torre* (Foreign Affairs, Jan.); Vicente Lecuna, *La guerra á muerte* (Bol. Ac. Nac. Hist., Jan.); L. A. Sucre, *Bolívar y Fanny du Villars* (*ibid.*, Oct.); Roberto Meza Fuentes, *La poesía de José Santos Chocano* (Nosotros, Apr.-Dec.); R. Riccard, *Joaquín García Icazbalceta* (Bull. Hispanique, Oct.-Dec.); A. E. Sayous, *Les débuts de commerce de l'Espagne avec l'Amérique* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); S. Ortiz Vidales, *Guillermo Prieto, estudio para una biografía* (Libro y Pueblo, Dec.); Arthur P. Whitaker, *Antonio de Ulloa* (Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., May); Alfred Hasbrouck, *The Conquest of the Desert* (*ibid.*).

W. S. R.

Contributions have been made to the section of Historical News by S. F. Bemis, T. C. Blegen, W. K. Boyd, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, J. M. Callahan, J. B. Childs, E. N. Curtis, Ebba Dahlin, P. W. Gates, J. C. Green, F. F. Holbrook, J. F. Jameson, W. T. Laprade, L. M. Larson, K. S. Latourette, W. G. Leland, Ella Lonn, H. S. Lucas, R. A. Newhall, Julia S. Orvis, L. J. Ragatz, W. S. Robertson, A. A. Rogers, J. S. Roucek, L. M. Sears, Ruth Sedgwick, C. S. Sydnor, J. I. Wyer.

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